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1 View of the Hegau region, near Tuttlingen
2 Heidenheim
3 Nördlingen
4 Urach
5 Hohenzollern Castle







The German Tribune

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Kohl's own brand of leadership emerges

en Helmut Kohl took over as Bonn Chancellor it looked as he would have most work to do mestic affairs, especially in balanc- he budget and fighting unemploy-

from his first day in office he was called on to play his part in foreign

ose who were expecting him to this side of government business well to his Foreign Minister, Dietrich Genscher, were soon n this was not to be the case.

preparing his foreign visits the cellor's Office kept a firm hand on eins, and Herr Kohl's 9 June go- ent policy statement likewise tes- to his own hand.

foreign and security policy in par- r the Chancellor engaged in plain king and clear outlines.

s report on the Williamsburg sum- talks provided an opportunity of g the way for his next major visit, will take him to Moscow.

hat he had to say on the eve of his to the Soviet capital sounded like a firm warning to the Soviet leaders not to misread the situation or harbour false hopes.

Herr Kohl said his piece on the assumption that it was better to state the German case plainly and unambiguously than cautiously to trade in ifs and buts.

He would be holding his talks in Moscow on the basis of Bonn's firm foundation in the Western community, he said, adding that: "That is precisely what makes us credible in the East."

Unlike his predecessor, Helmut Schmidt, Herr Kohl does not plan to don the mantle of a mediator or an interpreter.

He feels it is enough to outline German interests and to listen carefully to what the Russians have to say.

Yet, he can still imagine that such ties do more than serve the purpose of establishing good-neighbourly relations. They might also benefit the medium-range missile talks.

The Chancellor was equally forthright when it came to the EEC summit in Stuttgart. He left little doubt how arduous the preparations for the summit had been and how slight the prospects of success were.

But he did not prefer, despite the risk of failure in his bid to achieve European success during his chairmanship of the European Council, to revert for safety's sake to vague formulations.

He frankly outlined the problems the European Community currently faces and was particularly scathing at the egoism of some other EEC members.

"I feel," he said, "that we in Europe have grown a little too easy-going politically. We have relied on the EEC functioning automatically."

He had a number of suggestions on how the Stuttgart summit might yet be a success and how new and specific guidelines might be agreed to accelerate the process of integration.

There could be no mistaking his warning that Bonn would not be increasing its financial contribution to the EEC unless definite progress toward integration could be expected.

His appeal to EEC leaders was a high stake by the Bonn Chancellor. If he failed to carry them with him and the Stuttgart summit fails it would be a personal failure.

On European integration, as the previous day's proceedings of the Bundestag's foreign policy committee had shown, responsible political forces in the ruling coalition and the Opposition still have much in common.

Peter Hopen

(Bremer Nachrichten, 10 June 1983)

IN THIS ISSUE



UN Secretary-General in Bonn

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Perez de Cuellar, made this month his first official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. He held talks with Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl (pictured) and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Subjects discussed included Namibia and disarmament and the Third World. Mr Perez said the generous German cash support had helped United Nations development programmes.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

Arms control proposal by Chancellor

Chancellor Kohl's six points on arms control show that he is a man of compromise. He has no objections to negotiations on British or French nuclear weapons; he merely rules them out at the present round of Geneva talks.

This astutely indicates his readiness to allow them to count in future in East-West balance of power equations.

It is a valid point, since the enormous programmed growth in what are now relatively insignificant potentials is the real problem.

Herr Kohl's call on the Soviet Union to reduce the number of its medium-range missile systems is limited to systems aimed at Western Europe.

In the case of missiles stationed in Asia he calls for an embargo, with systems withdrawn from Europe not being transferred there.

The Chancellor thus gives priority to regional, European security over the global balance of power.

This is not only common sense; it is also strictly in accordance with the negotiating concept on which Nato originally agreed.

It formed the basis of the compromise proposals drawn up last summer in Geneva by the chief US and Soviet negotiators.

Unfortunately these proposals were rejected in Washington and Moscow, but they still seem as desirable in Helmut Kohl's eyes as they were in Helmut Schmidt's.

It is remarkable for the Chancellor to

Continued on page 3

Behind French attitudes on security

here can be no doubts about France's views on Western security. The ry insists on independence as it been understood since the days of eral de Gaulle.

ar and peace must not be left to fo- influence. Sovereignty is inviola-

hat was why France withdrew from integrated military command struc- of Nato in 1967 (but remained a ber of the Atlantic pact).

he French Premier, Pierre Mauroy, outlined this complex situation to a gathering in Paris, and there can o denying that since President Mit- nd took over French commitments Nato have been clearer and readier they used to be.

orges Pompidou and Valérie Gis- d'Estaing stood more aloof, not to tion General de Gaulle, who saw onal sovereignty as the crux of his oric mission.

ime and again people wonder why under a Socialist President of all people, especially when in coalition with the Communist, ties with Nato should be reemphasised.

There are probably two main reasons, the first being the immediate danger arising from the Soviet Union's modern arms build-up for Western Europe in particular.

This change in reality demands, from the viewpoint of Cartesian logic, closer ties with France's allies. So France now endorses the Nato dual-track decision to which, by virtue of its special position in the alliance, it is not a party.

The second reason is at least equally important. It is that the pacifist trend that has been in evidence in several Western countries don't agree with the French security concept.

Indeed, it jeopardises France's consistent interpretation of sovereignty. France's special rôle in Nato presupposes a North Atlantic pact that is fully intact and an unquestioned defence readiness in all member-countries.

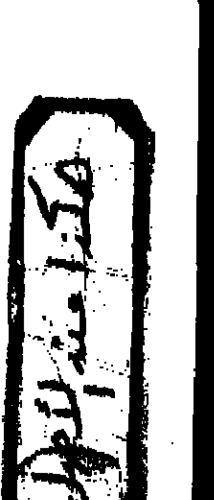
If this readiness appears in any way questionable French sovereignty, which is basically a political claim and does not signify military autonomy, is overshadowed by fresh risks.

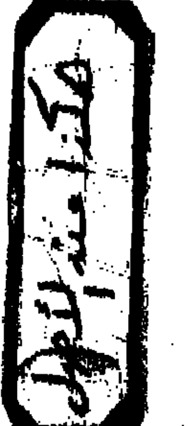
That is the point of the criticism of pacifism made by M. Mauroy in his Paris speech. It is made primarily with Germany in mind.

It the Germans were no longer prepared to defend their country it could hardly fail to become a glacis of the Soviet Union.

Herbert Kremp

(Die Welt, 10 June 1983)





■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Weinberger uses visit to tell allies about revised Pentagon ideas

US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger's visit to Bonn brought to light a number of points that are important for the future of Western Europe and the Atlantic alliance.

The Americans are in the process of reviewing their global strategic outlook in several major respects.

One is the concept of horizontal escalation such as might occur in South-West Asia or, to put it more clearly, the Gulf.

Starting with the Tehran hostages, the Soviet advance into Afghanistan and the oil crisis as it assumed increasingly alarming proportions the Pentagon has devoted thought to the subject.

Reports were compiled and submitted to the North Atlantic Council in 1981.

They begin with the point made by President Carter that the Gulf was a region of vital interest to the United States and then review the possibilities of averting a conflict by means of suitable precautionary measures.

The basic assumption that underlies the Pentagon studies is that the Soviet Union aims to use force to change the situation in the Gulf and establish a military presence there.

It is the first time there has been a departure, even in strategic thinking, from the classic doctrine of the Western alliance whereby, in the event of an enemy attack, the defence is to be put up where the attack takes place.

The Pentagon papers, partly published as Congressional reports, reach the conclusion that an attack in the Gulf ought to be answered by military counter-measures in other parts of the world too.

The response could be in Cuba, Korea or even Central Europe. This is the theory behind geographical, or "horizontal" escalation of a clash between the superpowers that occurs outside Europe.

Official admissions may not have been made but Western European governments have been most upset by this linkage of distant conflicts with the establishment of a military backdrop for use at least as a threat in Central Europe.

Opponents of missile modernisation have implied there is a connection between the stationing of new medium-range US missiles in Western Europe and this strategic reappraisal by the Pentagon.

The missiles might thus appear to be offensive weapons and not purely defensive in character. But this inference has always been nonsensical.

A missile attack could never be launched by 108 Pershing 2 missiles so limited in range as to be unable even to reach SS-20 launching facilities in Western Russia.

The Americans have now realised that their 1979/80 Gulf scenario is no longer appropriate, and that was what Mr Weinberger confirmed in Bonn.

In Washington today a military clash between the superpowers in the Gulf is felt to be the most likely form a conflict might take.

There are several reasons why, the first being that Soviet armed forces are grouped in just the same way as they were three-and-a-half years ago, before the invasion of Afghanistan.

Sixty-five per cent of land-based and strategic air force capacity is aimed at targets in Central Europe, 25 per cent at South and East Asia and only five to 10 per cent at areas to the south of Russia, i.e. the Near and Middle East.

Second, as America now sees it, internal conditions in the Eastern Bloc and its economic and military resources rule out a major military advance to the south.

Third, by limiting the scale of their commitment in Afghanistan the Russians are clearly felt to be indicating that they have no intention of going any further.

Their most plausible political strategy in the oil region is in keeping with the oldest formula of Soviet expansionist policy: to encourage social revolutionary movements in this part of the world.

The great unknown quantity in this context is the influence of the competing Islamic revolution tha[...] so strikingly effective in Iran[...]

Last but not least, the [...] have realised that their escala[tion ...] tion was wildly unrealistic i[n ...] Europe.

It is not merely that Na[to ...] treaty terms and as it sees its[elf ...] sive alliance.

Horizontal escalation in [the Euro]pean theatre would be deci[...] other side, just as it was in [...] the Berlin Wall was built, in [...] the Warsaw Pact armies in[vaded Cze]choslovakia and in 1981 wh[en ...] was imposed in Poland.

On all these occasions the [...] was the one to set up a [...] backdrop by massing troop[s ...] large-scale manoeuvres, [...] exercises and air force schem[es ...]

So Central Europe could [...] less suitable as a theatre for [...] escalation of whatever kind [...] sis strikes it is the other side [...] the scene in military terms.

The new Bonn government [...] some of the credit for having [...] this point on the Americans [...] Pentagon view could no [...] upheld.

Washington has no choice [...] locate again the Central Eu[ropean ...] global strategic planning the [...] always held by virtue of it[s ...] potential and understanding [...] it must play.

It is that of an extremely [...] region exposed to strong opp[...] ces in which any idea of bri[nging ...] sure to bear oneself must be [...]

What is more, in the event [...] Central Europe needs more [...] tion, not less, including the re[...] marked for the purpose.

It now looks as though [...] perts in Washington are re[...] some hesitation, to this classi[c ...] of the situation.

Fritz Ulli[...]

(Frankfurter Allge[meine Zeitung] für Deutschland[...])

Missiles: Moscow has only two options open to it

Analysis of the Williamsburg summit is sure to show the Soviet Union that Moscow's tactics towards the West have failed.

The West has not allowed itself to be split. On security matters not only France came out in solidarity with the others; so, for the first time ever, did Japan.

Soviet ideas that anti-nuclear movements in Western Europe might force governments to review their policies have proved wishful thinking.

True, the debate on the stationing of a new generation of missiles in Western Europe if the Geneva talks fail to achieve results is by no means over.

There are those who seem to have the greatest pleasure in anticipating a hot autumn of demonstrations organised by all manner of anti-missile groups.

But hopes of unilateral psychological and political disarmament by Western Europe can no longer be harboured by the Kremlin if it takes a view of the situation that is at all realistic.

The British Labour Party, which favoured something of the sort, took a heavy beating at the polls.

Germany's Social Democrats might face a similar fate if they fail to arrive at a clear policy statement on defence and security.

What conclusions must Moscow reach from this change in the situation? The Soviet government only really has two options.

It must either meet the West half-way at the Geneva talks or wait until the new missiles are staioned and then negotiate on scrapping them.

If, for security reasons, the Soviet Union attaches sufficient importance to forestalling the installation of Pershing 2s then the first option is its only choice.

Once the missiles are stationed it is likely to be more difficult to negotiate their removal than it would be to prevent them from being installed at all at the present talks.

Alternatively, agreement might be reached on limiting their number. Since the Williamsburg summit Moscow has sent a number of signals in Washington's direction that might sound an encouraging note.

Mr Andropov told Averell Harriman that normal or, better still, cordial relations with the USA were the most burning and keenest interest of his country.

In Washington too President Reagan must be more interested the closer his next election campaign comes in playing an active part in world affairs by holding a summit conference with the Soviet leader.

Now that Moscow has realised that the bid to split the West has led to Western leaders closing ranks the only choice left is direct talks between the superpowers.

From the mixed Soviet bag of better relations, threats and insults Washington thus ought to fish out the offer of a dialogue and ignore the remaining Soviet polemics.

A dialogue between the superpowers would come as a relief to Western Europe too. For it there can be no substitute as a political safeguard for peace.

Peter Seidlitz

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 8 June 1983)

OAU tries to maintain a steady course

The 20th anniversary year of the Organisation of African Unity is overshadowed by a serious crisis. The unity envisaged by the OAU's founding fathers 20 years ago has remained wishful thinking.

Its statutory principles, such as non-intervention and respect for colonial frontiers, have failed to withstand the many local conflicts.

The ongoing clash over West Sahara, which twice stymied the 19th OAU summit in Tripoli, has now beset the third attempt to hold a summit in Addis Ababa.

The dispute over membership for the Saharoui Arab Republic, proclaimed by the Polisario liberation front, as the 51st OAU member-country reflect not just the ethnic problems that drive a wedge between many parts of Africa.

It also reflects the growing contrast between extremist and moderate groups of states and their respective interests in the latest conflict.

While Libya and Algeria are among Polisario's supporters, Morocco lays claims of its own to the former Spanish Sahara and is supported by others.

The breaking strain to which the OAU is currently subjected [...] allowed to override the fact th[at ...] first two decades the organis[ation ...] proved useful in many other [...] crises.

It successfully mediated i[n ...] between Morocco and Alg[eria ...] Ethiopia and Somalia. The OAU [...] that were stationed in Chad fo[r ...] at least eased the situation th[...] though they may have been [...] resolve it.

The OAU arguably deserv[es ...] credit for having steadfastly opp[osed ...] bids to transfer the East-West [...] to Africa (even though it may [...] ways have succeeded).

Hans-Georg [...]

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine [...])

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HOME AFFAIRS

Greens face big decisions, aside from the crucial issue of football

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

[S]ometimes politics takes a back seat [t]o sport. That is what happened at a [...]al meeting of the Greens in Hano[ver].

[...] executive committee delegates [...]ed quietly away to get close to the [...] on the last Saturday of the season [...] whether Hamburg SV or Werder [Bre]men would win the soccer Bundesli[ga].

[Hamburg SV won in a photo finish. [...]age 15 — Ed.]

[In] fact so many left that, after a [...]-hour discussion, a woman delega[te] Marion Maren-Grisebach pointed [out] that only women were left. The men [had] all vanished.

[Bu]t the women, who could but smile [...]y at the behaviour of their bearded [com]rades, also got a telling-off.

[Is]n't it possible," asked Maren-Gri[seba]ch, in the face of screaming chil[dren], "for those who should be looking [after] their children to actually do so?."

[Th]e meeting of the Greens is diffe[rent] to other parties. As different as [veg]etables to concrete," as Rudolf [Bahr]o put it.

[T]here are no banners, no zealous [...] no vast flower arrangements. A [po]tted plant with two flowers will do.

[T]here are no stacks of executive cases [on t]he tables but shoulder bags made of [...] and under the chairs piles of [sleep]ing-bags.

[Th]e Greens, who at the general elec[tion] in March managed to get more [tha]n the 5 per cent of the electoral vote [need]ed to get into Parliament, had plen[ty t]o discuss in Hanover.

[E]ver since their magnificent election [per]formance the Greens have not really [bee]n able to sort things out among [them]selves.

[O]n the one hand, as one delegate put [it, th]ey wish to remain the "party of the [...]t" and not turn into a mere "parlia[men]tary party."

[O]n the other hand, they have to come [to te]rms with problems of parliamenta[ry al]lowances, structural and rotational [(the] Greens have a rotational principle [of re]presentation in the Bundestag) pro[blem]s.

[T]hese "formal" difficulties were left [out] of the discussion in Hanover so that [th]e fundamental issues could be dealt [with].

[T]he Greens have to make up their [min]d whether to stick to their present



Seeking the right shade of Green... Thomas Ebermann (left) and Rainer Trampert at the special conference of the Greens. (Photo: AP)

course, which appeals to the voters left of centre, or whether they should take up Bahro's suggestion and try to gain support within the conservative electorate, that is, right of centre.

It was clear right from the start of this meeting that this problem would not be decided on in Hanover and certainly cannot be eliminated by putting it to the vote. But there was an obvious need for discussion on the issue.

Two contrasting approaches to this issue were presented at the start of the convention: on the one hand, Rudolf Bahro, once a dissident in the GDR; on the other, Rainer Trampert, who bluntly and amid great applause underlined that he is not willing to go along with Bahro's "adverturous strategy" of readjusting the party to gain support from conservative circles.

On the ceiling of the long *Niedersachsenhalle* a purple balloon can be seen with the words *Schwerter zu Pflugscharen* (Swords to Ploughshares) on it.

Bahro's idea, which plans a "transition from Black to Green" is nothing new.

In his eyes the hypothetical possibility of a Red-Green reform bloc was buried with the result of the general election in March. Many had not grasped this fact yet.

The SPD and the Unions were bogged down in their ideology of *Kaputtindustrialisierung* (roughly: overindustrialising) and the arms race.

The Greens must try and make their peace with the three-quarters conservative majority in society, he said.

The party must do more than just complain about injustices and offer a concrete alternative.

He called upon those in Hanover to dispute Helmut Kohl's right to refer to Hölderlin.

As Bahro already once wrote in a thesis paper, "The Germans always only had semi-revolutions, but we were once a reforming nation.

"The new social movements, which have now carried the Greens into Parliament, are the harbingers of new radical reforms."

Rainer Trampert, the man from the north of Germany, who like Bahro is a member of the party's national executive committee, spoke of his fears of changing the face of the party just to appeal to conservative voters.

He too wants political success, but the price of such success must be decided on beforehand.

He rejected merely conforming to the existing general consciousness and glossing-over of everyday life.

Trampert warned Bahro against being taken in by the conservative promise of the warmth of the "national community"? In times of crisis, the *Volksgemeinschaft* ideology of the National Socialists is all too readily presented to the people.

Quotes by Helmut Kohl and Adolf Hitler were mentioned side by side. Some of the audience at the back of the hall found it difficult to understand what was going on up front.

One man kept on stroking his dog, another read a leaflet he was handed before he came in.

In-between lists of signatures for Polish prisoners, persons detained who belong to the GDR peace movement, and the Eco-movement in France, almost everything ever published on the Greens by traditional and alternative publishers is on sale.

Gardening Without Using Poisonous Substances is there among posters, post-cards, magazines and the *Gorleben Report.*

A large book entitled *Save The Whales* competes with *Save The Frogs* — both indisputedly important tasks for mankind.

Hans-Peter Sattler

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 June 1983)

Continued from page 1

[...] expressed understanding for the [hist]orically justified Soviet desire for [secu]rity.

[T]hat ought to help him on his forth[com]ing visit to Moscow when he reite[rate]s his equally justified criticism of [the] Soviet arms build-up, warning the [Sov]iet Union to make no mistakes [abo]ut Nato's capacity to act in unison [an]d determination.

Washington would be well advised to [give] the Chancellor authorisation to [ma]ke his plea for a compromise.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 10 June 1983)

Bahro shows conference that he's too much the theorist

Puzzling away... Rudolf Bahro. (Photo: AP)

If former GDR dissident Rudolf Bahro was really hoping for some kind of specific commitment during the Green's congress, he went about it the wrong way.

His exhortation that the Greens should not just concentrate on the support of society's fringe groups and outsiders but should show more interest in the large, conservative-minded majority in Germany, does seem a bit naive.

It was the head of the CSU, Franz Josef Strauss, who stated that the Greens ought not to be wasting their time in parliaments.

Almost every sentence in Bahro's theses show that he is an out-and-out theoretician, who has spent too much time at his desk, puzzling away at his favourite ideas of a post-industrial society.

Logically consistent, he recommends that the Greens assume the "bankruptcy of production oriented society" and abandon all hopes of co-operation with the "Big Labour Organisations" (SPD and the unions).

In doing so, he overlooks the fact that many of those who voted for the Greens, but also those for whom the label "left-wing" is still not a nasty word, are hoping for precisely that kind of co-operation to prevent any reactionary political trends.

What Bahro means exactly when he talks of moving towards the conservative majority in the population is his own personal secret.

Does he expect the Greens to accept a bit of tightening-up of the demonstration law, a bit of the tough line against foreigners and inconvenient groups altogetherf?

Apart from the fact that the CDU-CSU and the FDP have no real reason to support such *Annäherung* on the part of the Greens, such a move would cost the party some of its most active supporters.

In the medium-term, the most important characteristic of an alternative party should not be to seek salvation, particularly intimes of crisis, by shifting into socio-political reverse gear.

Admittedly, the Greens cannot indefinitely avoid fundamental structural decisions on the party's future.

The immediate future will decide whether the existing rotational principle for the Green Bundestag members or the often chaotic relationship between the party's grass roots and the party leadership are ideal.

This entails argument within the party itself.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 6 June 1983)

■ GOVERNMENT

Amenity cutbacks drawn up as local authority budgets feel the pinch



Germany's municipalities are going to have to cut down their spending even further over the next few years.

People will have to sacrifice some of the comforts they are now taking for granted.

A quick dip in the local swimming baths before going to work, for example. In future, most of them will open at 9 a. m. instead of 7 a. m.

Adult education courses will become more expensive and, suddenly, the local libraries are asking readers to pay money to borrow books.

The list of austerity measures is a long one. The German Municipal Authorities' Assembly listed 92 individual items after consulting its members.

The item at the top of the list should make the pay experts in the German Transport and Public Workers' Union (ÖTV), who are currently bargaining over a new pay deal, prick up their ears: personnel cuts.

Of the 80 local authorities covered by the survey, 57 stated that they would not, at least for the time being, be filling the jobs which become vacant, and 45 municipalities will be getting rid of jobs on a more permanent basis.

Sports clubs will be receiving less financial assistance in the way of subsidies in 50 per cent of the towns/cities covered. Every second municipality will be cutting back on road maintenance.

This is more than just a will to save, as shown by the city of Duisburg: In the field of public swimming baths alone, *Duisburg will save DM8m by lowering the temperature of the water, limiting the opening hours and thus reducing staff needed.*

No fixed rules

There are no fixed stipulations on the extent to which a sports club has to be financially supported or on how many new books the municipal library has to buy each year.

Subsidies for school outings and stays in *Schullandheimen* (country houses used by school classes for short visits) are also voluntary payments. Over half of the municipalities surveyed are planning cuts here.

Pretty soon though all this is not going to be enough. The chairman of the North Rhine-Westphalian Municipal Authorities' Assembly, the town clerk of Neuss, Franz-Josef Schmitt, cannot rule out that people may even lose out on services and benefits to which they are legally entitled. There's just no more money.

As an example, Schmitt refers to travelling expenses for school children, which in North Rhine-Westphalia are paid for by the *Land* (individual federal state) if the children do not live near the school.

This generous gesture was decided on by the *Landtag* (state parliament) in Düsseldorf. In reality, however, the municipalities themselves have to pay for it.

Although the *Land* provided a subsidy linked to the size of the population to cover the services to be rendered by the municipalities within the context of the *Auftragsverwaltung* (administration of public contracts), this money has now been "dropped altogether".

This subsidy only covered 45 per cent of the costs beforehand anyway.

Admittedly, the municipalities are aware of the fact that the *Land* is planning to increase its investment subsidy. However, they are not willing to accept this as compensation, as this money cannot be used to "cover current spending". The latter field presents the biggest headache for the municipalities.

"If we don't get any help", says the town clerk of Duisburg, Herbert Krämer, "the whole system will collapse".

A list compiled by the Municipal Authorities' Assembly shows how hard the municipalities have been hit by the termination of subsidies.

Cologne, the city with the biggest population in North Rhine-Westphalia, received DM52m last year.

The state capital Düsseldorf, was allotted DM31.5m, and the crisis-ridden mining town of Dortmund got DM32.5m.

All independent and dependent administrative districts together received a total of DM450m last year. The absence of this sum of money has left a big gap.

For although the *Land* no longer provides the financial support, it still expects the municipalities to provide the expensive services which they are obliged to do by law.

The missing subsidisation figures virtually coincide with the deficits in those 25 municipalities unable to balance their budgets in 1983: DM501m.

Duisburg tops the list with DM76m, but is outstripped on a per capita basis by Oberhausen and Hagen.

The deficits, therefore, have increased almost threefold within one year. In 1982, only 18 municipalities were in the red with a total deficit of DM172m.

Schmidt, town clerk of Neuss, thus talks of "self-defence" when municipalities consider cutting back expenditure in areas in which they are obliged to pay by law.

"As soon as we reach the stage where borrowing can no longer be justified, we must — law or no law — decide whether things can go on like this".

Schmitt says that the municipalities are being gradually drained.

He suspects that not only the economy is being put to the test but the municipalities as well.

However, austerity measures by the municipalities often lead to problems elsewhere. The cutting of special season-tickets for school children for example may induce the pupils to jump on their bikes instead or walk to school.

This means a loss of revenue for the municipal transport services, which in their turn will require additional subsidies.

First of all, however, the municipalities will be trying to get their money by going to court. If this doesn't help, there'll be no option but to declare a state of financial emergency and refuse to render the services to which they are legally bound.

Düsseldorf will probably be staging a test case against the *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Until 1984, however, the city elders are not likely to do anything which could further upset the population. District council elections are to be held next year.

The *Land* government in Düsseldorf is sticking to its tough line. This will mean growing deficits.

Interior Minister (of North Rhine-Westphalia), Herbert Schnoor, announced last week: "Our *Land* has used all possibilities of obtaining additional loans. It is not in a position to help the municipalities."

SPD Minister Schnoor took the opportunity to pass the buck. He blamed the whole situation on the CDU/CSU-FDP government in Bonn, which in his opinion had taken the strain off the federal budget at the expense of the municipalities.

The cutback in unemployment money, for example, will lead to a greater number of persons receiving national assistance, which will lead to a further burden on the municipalities.

The municipal elders agree on this point. Bruno Weinberger, executive member of the Municipal Authorities' Assembly Committee, reckons that "Operation 1982", which was geared to relieving the federal budget, has led to an extra DM800m in welfare aid spending for the municipalities.

But there are also critical words for North Rhine-Westphalia. Although this *Land* complains about the financial situation facing the municipalities, it also played a part in developing the legislation in Bonn which has reduced the municipalities to beggary.

Such criticism is not only levelled against the austerity decisions. The state government in Düsseldorf, for example, although initially opposing the removal of selective employment tax, finally agreed to this move.

Since 1980, therefore, this source of income has dried up and the municipalities have not recovered from this blow to this very day.

Hanns Karrenberg and Engelbert Münstermann, both expert advisers to the German Municipal Authorities' Assembly, term the removal of the selective employment tax as one of the most "serious interventions" in trade tax.

But it wasn't the only one. In a study on the Municipal Finances Report of 1983, the two experts list a few more blows to the financial strength of the Municipalities:

- The raising of the tax allowance for trading profits in the years 1975, 1978 and 1980 to DM36,000.
- The raising of the tax allowance for trading capital in the years 1978 and 1981 to DM120,000, and
- The introduction of a tax allowance to the effect of DM50,000 for the adding-on of long-term debts to the trading capital tax since 1981.

Bruno Weinberger complains: "Between 1970 and 1981, welfare aid spending had to be increased almost 4½ times. The main source of income for the municipalities, the trade tax, on the other hand, was substantially decreased via legislation, five times between 1975 and 1983 alone."

His conclusion: "In line with the motto, might is right, the municipalities are being asked to help b[…] *Länder* which are guilty of […]ing.

The decisions taken in Bo[…] courage the small and me[…] firms and boost investments […] a drastic reduction in the […] firls liable to pay trade tax […] less than one third of all firms.

In Duisburg, the figure is […] quarter, all the rest are cove[…] tax allowance provisions.

Town clerk Herbert Krämer […] the trade tax as a "tax of large[…]

This development means th[…] the primary sources of incom[…] municipalities is drying up. M[…] ties are becoming more and […] pendent on subsidies from th[…] government or the *Länder*.

At some time in the future, […] pected in the form of value add[…]

"But we know that will […] and that's not going to help u[…] Krämer points out. He there[…] for a reintroduction of the sele[…] ployment tax. "This could be […] tomorrow", he says.

The head of administration […] burg tones this statement dow[…] hat, remarking that such a me[…] likely to be accepted by the FR[…]

The same probably applies t[…] of extending trade tax to the […] dent professions.

The municipalities are reco[…] to run up even more debts to […] terms with the problems at han[…]

Weinberger points out that b[…] of the federal government bas[…] between 1970 and 1982 from D[…] to DM308.5bn (an increase of […] cent).

Borrowing by the *Länder* i[…] even more, from DM2[…] DM186.5bn (580 per cent).

Debt burden

The debt burden facing the m[…] lities, on the other hand, look[…] reasonable in comparison: DM[…]

Anyone who draws the co[…] that the municipalities should […] more is confronted by the stric[…] law of the municipalities whic[…] that the administrative budg[…] earn the additional debt service.

Former Chancellor Helmut S[…] called for a change in the co[…] budget law in 1977.

Weinberger is glad that such a[…] was not in fact effected as th[…] have led to the kind of overbo[…] practised by German towns du[…] international economic crisis o[…] 1920s.

What is more, Weinberger a[…] question: "Where would we be […] the towns and municipalities ha[…] the same kind of borrowing as the […] ral government and the *Länder*?"

The municipalities found a […] way of helping themselves. The[…] their budget levels for 1982 and […] year at the level of the 1981 budg[…]

Admittedly, this had a detrim[…] fect on the investive expenditu[…] was thus intensifying the cris[…]

But the possibilities to save in th[…] ministrative budget are used up.

Herbert Krämer on this poin[…] we can do now is resort to acti[…] have shied away from up to now."

As an example, he referred to […] down the day homes for the […] which would save a few hundred […] sand marks in the case of each ho[…]

Heinz-Günther K[…]

(Die Zeit, 10 Ju[…])

THE WORKFORCE

Pension reform needed, and it will be a difficult, unpopular task

[…]ion funds threaten to run short of […], especially after the turn of the century, when even fewer working people will […] to support even more pensioners. […] Germany's Christian Democrats […] to boost the birth rate by financial [incen]tives. Proposals have been submitted by the CDU's social seccurity com[miss]ion. The experts say higher contribu[tions] and lower pensions may be necessa[ry].

[P]ension mounts in a three-cornered contest in Bonn. Will they, won't [they] defer next year's pension rises? [The] decision has been postponed again.

[…]hey, the contestants, are Finance [Mi]nister Gerhard Stoltenberg, Eco[no]mic Affairs Minister Otto Lambs[dor]ff and Labour Minister Norbert [Bl]üm.

[T]he Labour Minister won the latest [rou]nd of sparring easily on points. Pen[sion]ers can keep guessing whether [the]y're going to get more next year or [not].

However much it is, it won't be [mu]ch. The increase will be based on [last] year's wage rises, which were un[spe]ctacular.

Health insurance contributions for [pen]sioners will also be charged, leaving [th]em with at most 1.5 per cent more, or nowhere near enough to offset infla[tion].

Doubts whether deadlines will be met [an]d manipulation of pension increases [ar]e part of the pensions slow-down that [h]as been under way since 1976.

There was talk of fraud at the time, but the fact is that basing pensions on the earnings before tax of the working population has grown too expensive.

Disregarding taxation and contributions is not fair either. Working people, who foot the pensions bill, were being asked to pay more and more in contributions.

Pension reform is a tough but indispensable task for the Bonn government in general and the Labour Minister in particular.

The tug-of-war over pension increases gives little idea of the complexity of the problem. Whatever Herr Blüm decides on is going to be unpopular.

So Herr Stoltenberg's support for postponing pension rises is intended first and foremost as pressure to get Herr Blüm to make savings and reform proposals.

The first consideration is next year, for which not enough cash will always be coming in as matters stand to honour all pension commitments.

If need be the Finance Minister might have to meet the difference from budget funds.

But equally heavy pressure weighs on Herr Blüm to submit proposals soon for a long-term reform of the pension scheme.

Pensions must definitely increase more slowly than they have done in the past. Claims that are not based on personal contributions must be cut back.

It would be best if the state were to tax pensions. They already tax old people's earnings from investment or property.

There is no sound reason why people should be taxed to pay for communal expenditure until the age of 60, 63 or 65, and then exempted from personal taxation to all intents and purposes.

This dilemma will increase in the years to come when more and more people will draw private or company pensions in addition to their old-age pensions and do so from an ever earlier age.

Why should old people be exempted from the basic tenet of income tax law, which is that the more people earn the more they should pay toward the cost of public services?

There must be an adequate tax-free allowance to ensure that the basic necessities of life are clear of the claw-back. The entire pension might be taxed or just part.

It could be taken into account that ordinary pensioners are part of a contributory pension scheme, whereas civil servants have a non-contributory scheme.

Civil service pensioners, on the other hand, already pay tax on their pensions.

The pension reform must do justice to the Constitutional Court requirement of comparable treatment for all kinds of provision for old age.

It must also ensure that more funds are raised, which can only be achieved if the Federal and state governments agree to remit much of the extra revenue to the pension funds.

If they refused, the only option would be to change the basis on which pension entitlement is assessed.

It would need to bear in mind that pensions must increase at a slower rate in the years ahead and take into account both the number of contributors and the economic situation.

Slower increase

But only people who are paid a state pension would be required to shoulder the pension reform burden, so unless suitable provisions were made low pensions would be hit hardest.

If the reform was satisfactory the lengthy tug-of-war would have been worthwhile, and when a decision is taken it must be stood by in good times and bad.

1984 must be the end of the pensions debate for many a long year.

Wolfgang Mauersberg

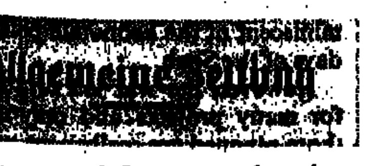
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 June 1983)

How pensions have grown — Increases in %

1972: 1 Jan +6.3; 1 Jul +9.5
1973: 1 Jul +11.35
1974: 1 Jul +11.2
1975: 1 Jul +11.1
1976: 1 Jul +11.0
1977: 1 Jul +9.9
1978: Increase held over until
1979: 1 Jan. +4.5
1980: 1 Jan. +4.0
1981: 1 Jan. +4.0
1982: 1 Jan. +5.76
1983: 1 Jul +5.6

Increase deferred for six months
Gross settlement
Increase deferred for six months
Less 1 % for health insurance
4692

Trade unionists demonstrate against unemployment



[E]uropean and German trade unions held a demonstration in Stuttgart to [dra]w attention to the plight of 12 mil[lio]n unemployed in the 10 Common [Ma]rket countries.

[E]ighty thousand from all over the [Fed]eral Republic of Germany and [abr]oad took part. They want political [act]ion to create jobs.

Leaders have no sure-cure solution to [the] world's economic ills, and Ernst [Bre]it, general secretary of the DGB, [Ge]rmany's Düsseldorf-based trades [un]ion confederation, was stating too [sim]ple a case in claiming that govern[me]nts were merely doctoring away at [the] symptoms rather than attempting a [cu]re.

The Williamsburg summit at least [dia]gnosed the beginnings of an econo[mic] recovery. The economic summit [wa]s confident continued inflation-free [gro]wth could be achieved.

Concentration on stable prices is not [ev]en a matter of course in the national [ec]onomic policies pursued by all the [E]EC 10.

To fight mass unemployment the Common Market summit would need to renounce once and for all protectionism in all its guises and failed subsidies to industries like steel.

The trade union demands for government investment programmes overreach the mark, of course. The European Community is already on the verge of bankruptcy, and would not deficit financing send interest rates soaring again?

That could hardly fail to have an adverse effect on private investment, hitting jobs below the belt again.

Politicians would do well to heed the demands for shorter working hours in one form or another, especially as the unions no longer insist on full wages.

Even if the recovery maintains momentum there seems to be no way in which the EEC will be able to avoid redistributing the amount of work available to ensure full employment.

The DGB's decision no longer to insist on less work for the same pay ought surely to make it easier to arrive at a solution.

The employers can no longer afford to disregard the prospect of readiness to compromise held forth by Herr Breit.

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 6 June 1983)

No more joy in the spring jobless figures

The monthly unemployment figures are still bad news. In the past, especially when the economy was booming, unemployment used to nosedive dramatically in spring. Not any longer.

The improvement is negligible these days, and it is purely seasonal. The labour market is a permanent problem, with 2.2 million people out of work.

To make the problem doubly difficult there is no prospect of swift solutions. There are no ideas that hold forth the promise of a swift improvement either.

Unemployment is not just cyclical this time round; it is to a large extent structural.

Demographic problems complicate matters. Estimates of an extra half a million prospective breadwinners in the second half of the decade are on the conservative side.

They and the bedrock of today's unemployed seem sure to keep the number at three million or so for years. In other words, unemployment will grow increasingly pressing as a problem.

There are no sure cures. Patience is called for. Hopes of economic recovery solving the problem automatically, as it were, must not be overestimated.

An upswing, and it has been only tentative so far, will not be enough on its own. Entire industries are being swept by the winds of change and need to shed capacity.

Structural change takes time and money. Cash is a scarce commodity and, with the coffers bare, would merely boost inflation.

We run other risks too: old, new and redundancy black spots. Exports are shrinking and threatened by protectionism, and despite the Williamsburg summit interest rates seem to be on the increase worldwide.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 June 1983)



■ BUSINESS

Saudis intent on promoting domestic industry

The Federal Republic of Germany is Saudi Arabia's second most important partner in economic and industrial/scientific co-operation, said the Saudi Arabia Minister of Finance, Sheikh Mohammad Abalkhail, at the 6th Conference of the German-Saudi Arabian Economics Commission in Riyadh.

German Minister for Economic Affairs, Count Otto Lambsdorff, headed the German delegation. He also met King Fahd for detailed talks during his visit.

Saudi Arabia is on the threshold of a new phase in its up to now breathtaking economic development.

The reduction in the revenue from oil exports means greater economising. This will not, however, adversely effect the development targets set.

The emphasis will be shifted away from new large-scale projects towards extending those already in existence, promoting domestic industry and encouraging domestic management.

These objectives form the basis for prospects of future co-operation between Saudi Arabia and the Federal Republic.

The expected budgetary deficit of about $9bn (30 billion Rial) is certainly not likely to break the Saudi Arabia bank. Saudi Arabia has vast monetary reserves both at home and abroad.

Abalkhail stressed that their is a basic willingness to grant new loans to Bonn, but up to now the Saudi Arabia government has not been asked. Probably it won't be this financial year.

In Abalkhail's opinion, the current price of oil is stable and reasonable. He is sure things will stay that way, although there is less certainty as to whether production and demand will rise during the third quarter of this year.

The expansion of the domestic economy will improve the capacity to absorb the financial back-flow from the oil revenue, the Minister said. Saudi Arabia would then invest less abroad.

The huge investments abroad were necessary because the domestic economy could absorb that kind of capital.

Over the past six years, loans worth *123 billion Rial have flowed into industry*, agriculture and trade. This is growing constantly.

The Saudi government intends plugging the $9bn deficit via disinvestment abroad and by "stretching" state-run projects.

Abalkhail referred to the deficit figure as a trifle which would not have any effect on international financial markets.

Experts estimate Saudi Arabia's total monetary reserves and investments abroad at the least $150bn. The minister himself, however would not say.

During his talks with King Fahd and the Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister, Saud al-Faisal, Count Lambsdorff made it clear that Bonn's foreign policies towards the Middle East and towards the Arabs have not been changed by the change of government in Bonn.

This statement seemed to be important in reassuring the Saudis. After all, during his first policy speech in October 1982 Chancellor Kohl did not mention the Middle East at all.

The talks did not uncover anything new They confirmed the great caution shown by Saudi Arabia, which stands as it were above things, expressing its understanding and sympathies for both the Lebanese and for the Syrians.

The King only briefly touched on foreign policy, and with great restraint.



King Fahd (left) and Count Lambsdorff during their talks in the Saudi A[…]tal of Riyadh.

He concentrated on economic policy and the development of his country, particularly education. He is a former education minister.

German-Saudi Arabian economic relations are in good shape and German firms represented in Saudi Arabia have no major complaints.

The problems caused by differences in legal systems are few.

There are some difficulties over demands that the Saudi Arabians be given a 30 per cent share of any deal done with a foreign company.

This can be traced back to an old law adopted in 1974, which the Saudi Arabian government was pressurised into accepting by merchants, whose business is dropping off.

However, the stipulation allows for varied interpretations and German businessmen are not unduly concerned about the possibility of stiff application.

Following a buoyant period in economic ties between both countries it no looks as if trade will stay at its present level or even tail off.

Competition, however, is becoming tougher all the time. In 1982, Saudi Arabia was Germany's number one oil supplier. During the first quarter of 1983 it has been overtaken b[…] and Libya.

The emphasis placed by Sa[…] on the extension of high-tech[…] dustry during the new de[…] phase present new market pr[…] the Federal Republic of Germ[…]

Admittedly, there is plenty [...] tition in this field from other [...] above all from the Americans.

Germany is to take over th[…] ment of three hospitals and a[…] firm will be responsible for [...] modern training centre in th[…] Jubail on the Persia Gulf.

The much-desired purchase [...] 600 Leopard tanks by the Sa[…] not discussed during Lambsdo[…]

Nevertheless, a number of [...] suggested that this desire s[…]

Perhaps the Saudis will a[…] issue during Chancellor Koh[…] in Saudi Arabia during his p[…] to the Middle East.

Lamsdorff handed over a[…] letter from Kohl. There is [...] ment on the visit, although it [...] tain whether it will be this yea[…]

Thoma[…]

(Frankfurter Allgem[…] für Deutschland, [...])

Iran poised for an economic upswing, says chamber

Post-revolutionary Iran is bracing itself for a massive economic upswing, says the standing council of German chambers of commerce and industry (DIHT).

As soon as the Iraq-Iran war ends, the billions of petrodollars can start to roll once more.

Experts expect Iran to achieve the best economic growth rates in the Middle East during the next few years.

The economic signs are good. According to the German-Iranian Chamber of Commerce in Hamburg, Iran's currency reserves including gold amount to $13bn.

Iran has no foreign debts. Despite the damage done by war, 3.2 million barrels of oil are being extracted each day (1 barrel = 159 litres), 2.5 million of which are exported.

The price of Iranian oil figures at $28.5 per barrel and there is a growing demand for the popular Iranian light.

According to observations by German representatives in Tehran there has been a return to economic reason and more stability, particularly in official institutions.

The Iranian government is trying to get the experts in engineering, industry and trade to return to Iran. Many skilled workers left the country in the face of the continuing war against Iraq.

The expectations of German firms are to be found somewhere between subdued scepticism and careful optimism.

SONNTAGS BLATT

German business ties with Iran have always been strong.

However, most businessmen still show restraint in their acquisition policies, even though the Tehran government has just published a new five-year plan with a long list of both major projects and measures to promote the country's small and medium-scale industries.

Spokeswoman for the Chamber of Commerce, Antje Moradians, expects an increase in travel to and from Iran by German businessmen in the near future.

The number of German firms in Iran dropped from 270 before the revolution to 110 in May 1980 and 80 this year. Many of them have Iranian staff only.

"What we're all really waiting for is the end of the war", says Ernest A. Volckmar, manager of the Aachen-based air and heating technology firm, H. Krantz.

This would be the starting signal proper for increasing involvement by German firms in the Persian Gulf.

Many former projects are in the warzone. Hardly anything is known about their present state.

The outcome of the war is also important in deciding which political group takes over the leadership of the state and the economy inside and outside the Tehran parliament.

The announced and known industrial projects provide an idea of Iran's need to catch up economically four years after the start of the revolution.

Ports are to be extended; airports to be built in provincial areas; 12 power stations to be set up with a power load of 10,000 megawatts; and a pumped-storage hydrostation with a capacity of four times 250 megawatts, is to be built in Tehran.

The Iranian railway network is to be completely electrified now that the connection between the Soviet border and the provincial capital, Tabriz, has been linked up.

A new international airport is to be built in Tehran itself and a major oil refinery in the province of Ilam.

Work on the gas pipeline into Turkey is making no progress at the [...] mainly because of the war.

The surprising thing about [...] is the number of large-scale pr[…] miniscent of the economic po[…] days of the Shah.

However, the war led to a [...] for many projects and only a[…] those planned are really new.

German exports to Iran last [...] naged to remain stable at DM1[…]

The Düsseldorf company He[…] Ag, which completed a chemic[…] duction plant near Tehran ju[…] the start of the revolution, r[…] business during the first quarte[…] as "decidedly improved".

Those German firms with pa[…] close business ties to Iran co[…] "positive signs", although the[…] spects are seen to be medium-te[…]

At the end of May, the DIHT [...] warned German firms not to [...] boat when the boom takes off in [...]

Potential competitors such as [...] North Korea, Italy and Swede[…] ready for the off.

According to forecasts by G[…] economic experts, Iran will ha[…] billion marks more each mo[…] spend on imports when the wa[…] money which is an currently sp[…] supporting that war.

Despite revolution and war, th[…] nians have shown a great sense of [...]

Continued on page 7



INDUSTRY

[S]mall tradesmen keep hammering away to [...]prove a commercial, ideological point

[S]killed trades are not dying out as many once predicted. It is true that some skills [hav]en lost and that others have been changed by the demands of a modern, technolo[gical so]ciety. But others that were thought to be living in numbered days have begun to [...] again: tiled stove building, cabinet making, blacksmithing. What is happening [...]an ideologocial point is being proved. Jürgen Jeske reports here in the *Frankfurter [Allgem]eine Zeitung* that human versatility and adaptability is the main reason why the [...] maintain their vitality throughout the ages. This was something that Marx and [...]s did not realise when they compiled their Communist Manifesto.

[The]re is a certain symbolism in the [f]act that this year's German Trades [Con]gress was held in Frankfurt's Old [Oper]a House.

[Fr]ankfurt's Opera House, which was [bu]ilt amid the plain coldness of high-[...] architecture, combines modern en[gine]ering and skilful, artistic restora[tion]. It is a symbol of the middle-class [...] of life.

[T]he skilled trades, with their combi[nati]on of technological progress and [trad]itional skills, also reflect the more [hum]an side of industry. They contrast [with] the impersonal nature of large [com]panies.

[A]lthough many social structures are [bre]aking up, the skilled trades still keep [...]gs in a tight network: a working [worl]d which the individual can still un[der]stand, the undivided work process, [the] individual's dexterity and his practi[cal] intelligence. There is still a chance [of] independent self-fulfilment.

Even technology, which is a robot nightmare to many, stays "human" here, the skilled tradesman still masters the machine and not the other way round.

As the Swabian doctor Paracelsus is claimed to have written: "All crafts are united in Man".

Today there are 125 skilled trades. Human versatility and adaptability are the main reasons why the trades have maintained their vitality throughout the centuries.

This was something Marx and Engels failed to realise when they prophesied the following in their Communist Manifesto published in 1848:

"The lower strata of the middle class — the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants — all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production."

Although Marx and Engels talked of human beings, they saw the economy as a kind of natural force which had no place for man's inventiveness.

They would never have thought it possible that the triumphal march of mass production, which was linked to the spreading of mass prosperity, would be able to create new needs which could be catered for by the skilled trades.

During recent years, many trades which were pronounced obsolete have therefore come to new life: tiled-stove builders, cabinetmakers and even the blacksmiths (because of the sport of horse-riding).

And nobody was able to visualise the amount of repair-work and restoration needed in modern society.

Admittedly, whole branches of skilled trades, for example the tailor, have been displaced by industry, or they have at least lost the basis for their independent economic existence.

On the other hand, new trades have emerged or have made their presence felt to an extent no-one would have thought possible: dental technicians, hearing-aid acoustics experts, building cleaners or ventilation constructors.

Although, as Marx and Engels predicted, many skills have been "rendered worthless" by the technological revolution, particularly in electrical engineering, many new fields of work have been created.

Skilled trades also benefit from technological progress in other ways. For example, many small businesses are now able to afford computers.

So the development of the skilled trades has not been determined by the laws of the conomy (as Marx and Engels said) but by man's own ingenuity.

The skilled trades have become an important stabilising socio-political factor in Germany.

In many senses, this sector is the "school of the nation" for the recuitment of two thirds of all industrial trainees and future managers.

Crafts and trades

Businesses payrolls (figures in %)

One-man firms	18
between 2 and 4	39
5-9	25
10-19	11
20-49	5
More than 50	2

The side-by-side of master and apprentice means that job satisfaction and a peaceful working atmosphere is better than in other areas.

Already back in 1897, the economist Gustav von Schmoller (1838—1917) pointed out that the middle class unites the forces and tendencies which ensure that "a great nation does not disintegrate into a few who are extremely rich and countless proletarians".

In addition, the existence of a large number of small and medium-scale businesses guarantees a market economy system as it exists in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The skilled trades, therefore, have a feeling for all tendencies which might threaten this economic freedom.

This varied nature of the skilled trades also makes sure that Germany's provinces remain living areas.

When one considers that the way out of the economic difficulties facing us during the eighties can only be achieved via greater individual responsibility, initiative and the willingness to take risks, skilled trades could become a symbol the the times.

The information-theory expert, Professor Karl Steinbuch, once wrote: "Middle-class awareness must, above all, face up to the destruction of independence in the economic and intellectual spheres.

"Independence is the best guarantee against unknown dangers and a prerequisite for future creativity."

In this respect, the skilled trades could become very important for the further development of our society.

The skilled trades must become the advocate of the human side of industry.

Jürgen Jeske

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 June 1983)

Iran ready for economic jump

Continued from page 6

duty with regard to paying up their debts.

Apart from a few individual businessmen who fled after the revolution broke out there have been no cases of refusal to repay loans.

Scare stories of nationalising foreign firms have revealed themselves to be completely unfounded in the case of German companies.

Both German and other foreign firms are optimistic about the possibility of completing contracts they one started.

There is still a great need for housing for the 40 million Iranians, four million of whom are claimed to be unemployed (30 per cent of the gainfully employable persons).

The goods on the Tehran government's list of imports show that the blind faith shown by the Shah regime in large-scale projects is gone; machines, pharmaceutics, chemicals, fertiliser, the motor industry and spare parts.

One of the biggest barriers to the further development of the Iranian economy is the lack of skilled workers.

Not only are the experts gone, who have left the country over the past four years, but four years of trainees are missing. Training charges are essential.

This is the only way to enable domestic capacities to be extended and to overcome the great economic dependence which has faced Iran during the past.

Diether Löewe

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 5 June 1983)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Geneva and afterwards: the crucial factors



The Federal Republic of Germany is heading for one of the most serious domestic and foreign policy crises in its history.

In all probability the crisis will come to a head in six months' time, but people are already far from clear as to the implications of what is at stake.

The signs are that confusion will be even greater at the height of the crisis than it is now.

In their public statements the politicians are still hoping the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles in Europe will achieve results, an interim agreement at least, in time for the year's end deadline.

In reality they have virtually abandoned hope of a breakthrough over the past few months. The signs are that the talks will fail to achieve results, interim or otherwise, in 1983.

In keeping with the timetable agreed by Nato it will then be time to start stationing the new US missiles in Europe, beginning with Pershing 2s in Germany.

The peace movement, in the widest sense of the term, has announced its intention of preventing the installation of the new missiles.

The present Bonn government has repeatedly proclaimed its determination to go ahead with the Nato missile modernisation programme regardless of such resistance.

It hopes the resistance spokesmen for the peace movement have said will be offered will remain non-violent. But no-one can be sure that it will.

What next to no-one realises any longer is how paradoxical the situation is likely to be at the year's end.

The Geneva talks may be expected to break down, either because the Americans declare them to have been a failure or because the Russians recall their delegation the moment the first Pershing 2s arrive in Germany.

The peace movement's resistance to their being stationed will then be based on the slogan: "No new US missiles in Europe!".

If this campaign is a success, Nato will indeed not be supplied with new missiles for Europe, while the Soviet Union can cheerfully shelve plans for a partial withdrawal of SS-20 missiles.

Washington is increasingly coming to feel that the Soviet leaders will not be prepared to negotiate seriously until they realise that implementation of the Nato decision can no longer be prevented.

Anyone who holds this view must logically welcome the arrival of the first Pershing 2s in Germany and be prepared to crush resistance to stationing them here come what may.

If it is right the new missiles must be stationed in Europe if there is to be any chance of a reduction in the number of new missile systems by both sides.

Politicians who hold this view are at a disadvantage in that they cannot prove their point. In all probability the Soviet Union will do all it can to create the opposite impression.

Moscow can be sure to announce, in no uncertain terms, that the stationing of the first Pershings will end any hopes of reaching agreement.

The Soviet Union will then no longer be prepared to talk about a limitation in the number of missile systems.

Politicians might then argue that the Kremlin advanced exactly the same argument just before Nato arrived at its missile modernisation decision in December 1979.

Yet once the decision had been taken the Russians were soon ready to hold negotiations again.

Root-and-branch opponents of missile modernisation are unlikely to be convinced by this argument.

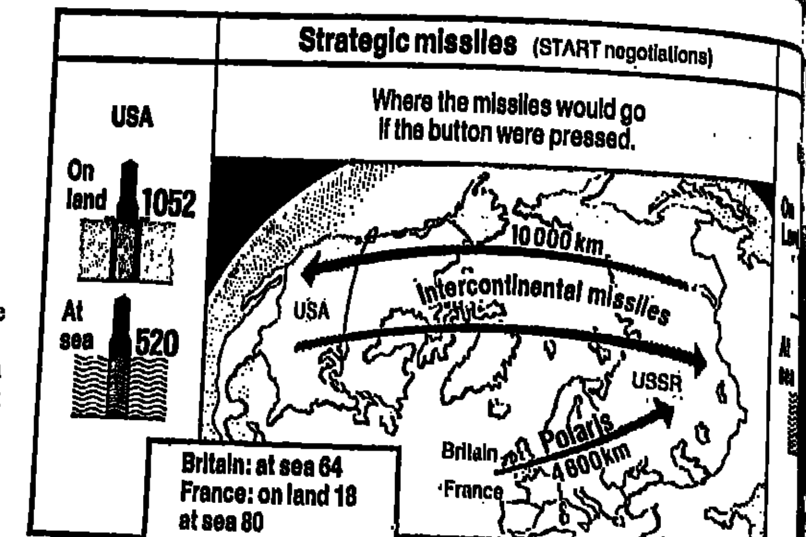
Opposition to the new US missiles has reached a stage at which it is so widespread and so determined that objective discussion between the two sides is virtually ruled out.

The Social Democrats have shown steadily less enthusiasm about the missile modernisation decision of late, especially since being relegated to the Opposition benches in Bonn.

Yet their own Bonn Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, was partly responsible for drafting the 1979 Nato resolution.

Be that as it may, it is virtually inconceivable that an SPD party conference might possibly endorse missile modernisation in any form as matters stand.

Even Herr Schmidt has paved the way for rejection of the idea by accusing the government of no longer seriously aiming at results in Geneva.



The only point that is still at issue in the SPD is whether the party, and leading Social Democrats, ought to take an active part in opposing the stationing of the missiles as some groups demand.

Party leaders have so far stalled on this point, but they might yet be swept along on the crest of a wave of opposition to missile modernisation.

The situation is much the same in the trade union movement.

There, as in the SPD leadership, the leaders are still level-headed enough to oppose the demand by Oskar Lafontaine, the SPD mayor of Saarbrücken, for a general strike in protest against the missiles.

The domestic crisis that seems to lie ahead could prove so ominous as to prompt consideration whether there might not be some way of avoiding it.

The first idea in this direction was the moratorium proposal, which envisaged continuing the Geneva talks in the New Year if need be and postponing missile modernisation while they continued.

But the Soviet government would probably infer that the West was no longer so sure it could afford to go ahead with missile modernisation.

Moscow might then lose interest in coming to terms.

A more radical idea would missile modernisation off reinforce Nato with other, co weapons.

But that would leave only t Union equipped with moder range missiles in Europe, and further objection that argu even more heavily.

It is that any such decision a major political triumph for t Union and an equally serio setback for the United States.

Moscow would harbour ho Europeans gradually parting with the Americans, while i many people would say the had abandoned all attempts to viet influence.

The missiles themselves are the crux of the matter. The tern of world affairs will d pending which way the missi goes.

Any attempt to avert year's end will probably be failure.

We must be prepared for sets but we ought at least to derstand what is at stake.

Wolfgang

(Hannoversche Allgemeine,

Group seeks a merger of the two sets of missiles talks

Protestant laymen led by Munich political scientist and historian Professor Klaus von Schubart have called for the Geneva talks on intercontinental (Start) and medium-range (INF) missiles to be merged. The aim is to reach a comprehensive agreement on nuclear disarmament. This, in full, is Article 8 of what the group call the Heidelberg peace memorandum, a name that calls to mind the Heidelberg theses drafted by Professor Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker in 1959.

The latest round in the arms race is a threat to Europe in particular. The Geneva talks on medium-range missiles will show whether confidence in arms control negotiations is forfeited entirely or a breakthrough is achieved.

Many nuclear devices are stored in Europe for use in central Europe as the potential theatre of an East-West war. Many medium-range Eurostrategic systems are stationed in and around Europe.

They all clearly demonstrate both the trend in nuclear technology toward combat capability and the consequences of inadequate arms limitation agreements that leave leeway for "grey zones" and can thus be circumvented.

At the Geneva talks only a limited cross-section of Eurostrategic weapons is under discussion.

If the United States and the Soviet Union are unable to agree to forgo these weapon systems there will still be the Salt option of agreement on ceilings.

This would enable the two sides to carry on with their arms build-up or go ahead with missile modernisation.

There is also the possibility of a minor reduction, no more than symbolic in character. Neither possibility is an acceptable solution.

Yet if the negotiation brief was extended to include all comparable Eurostrategic systems and shorter-range tactical nuclear weapons agreement might be reached on comprehensive nuclear disarmament.

As a first step the United States and the Soviet Union as the two sides at Geneva could call a halt to the arms race and decide to extend the talks to all regional strategic and theatre tactical nuclear weapons.

As a second step they can then agree to scrap these categories of weapons entirely and link the regional (I intercontinental (Start) strate talks.

By linking the two so as to any gaps they could negotia prehensive agreement to redu weapons.

It would not allow any mo zones" to arise and could thus ger be circumvented.

At the same time a Europe control network of agreements ventional arms, manpower and movement options needs setti prevent war becoming wageab or a fresh arms dynamic occurri

An MBFR agreement in V long overdue. A Conference o mament in Europe ought to be continue negotiations on milit fective confidence-building.

In this way the remaining nuclear weapons held by th powers would become deterre pons again.

That might not eliminate the rent dilemma, but it would p specific access to the eliminati liance on nuclear weapons calle Article Five.

The agenda in Geneva coul extended that a comprehensive tion in the various nuclear wea tems was conceivable alongsi duction in conventional armed f

The way can and must be p Europe for a comprehensive tion of nuclear weapons.

(Frankfurter Rundschau,

TRAVEL

Shock for holidaymakers as another Berlin company goes to the wall

ER TAGESSPIEGEL

he collapse of Flug-Union, the well-known Berlin travel company, came shock to the trade. It is only a year Laker's travel bureau subsidiary, German office was in Berlin, even more spectacularly to the

came as an even greater shock to daymakers in the city. "Current et conditions in Berlin make it imible to continue in business," the pany tersely announced.

was the end of the road for a firm used to be the second-largest air company in the city.

urrent market conditions give rise rious fears as to the entire future of ours from Berlin. Rumours are rife.

the 1960s Flug-Union was the No. Berlin; only Berliner Flug Ring did business. West German operators R and TUI did not arrive on the e until 1966 and 1969 respectively.

itially they contented themselves a modest share of the market, but situation has changed completely e 1980.

Berlin operators were more or less lplessly left to face competition on fronts, the one being politically moed dumping in air fares charged by rflug, the GDR airline, and other Bloc airlines.

With the aid of travel agents in West lin they tempted more and more air ists to fly from Schönefeld, East lin, seriously jeopardising charter hts to Greece.

At the same time West German opeors joined the price war in Berlin, sidising flights from Berlin to make m cheaper than flights from West many.

Berlin operators were unable to com with either. Yet Flug Ring, Flugon and Unger-Flugreisen managed e or less to hold their own.

The first really serious setback was in when Laker Holidays, the Berlin sidiary of Laker Airways, made a for the market with rock-bottom es.

About 60,000 Berlin holidaymakers ked with Laker. The other operu especially the local firms, were rans.

Flug Ring and Flug-Union ran into difficulties for the first time. It was partly their own fault for having made no attempt to meet the Laker challenge.

Laker's success was short-lived. The company went out of business in February 1982. Not even Sir Freddie Laker could make ends meet by charging less than cost.

Berlin air tour operators breathed a sigh of relief, but not the affected holidaymakers.

Worried by Laker's failure, many holidaymakers decided to play safe and book with TUI, the largest and arguably safest operator.

TUI steadily improved its position, offering cut-price tours from Berlin only. Cumbersome local firms, operating only from Berlin, were unable to compete.

Their only strong point was that they ran air tours to less popular destinations. On popular routes they were increasingly unable to hold their own.

Competition grew even more ruinous early this year when NUR and TUI waged a price war of their own even though NUR, for instance, lost DM11m last year. It was a loss that would hve meant the end for any smaller operator, and sluggish bookings were the reason for the latest price war.

Prices were undercut for one holiday arrangement after another, as they have been in West Germany this year too, and holidaymakers could hardly be blamed for making hay while the sun shone.

So it is hardly surprising that the Flug-Union shareholders, Haru and Urlaubsreisen, were no longer prepared to invest a further DM1m in the company.

They first put their holdings up for sale, then offered to give them away. A private group is said to have been prepared to step in but was reportedly ruled out by the majority shareholders.

The majority shareholders, Bayern-Express and P. Kühn, are both wholly owned by Deutsche Bundesbahn, the German Federal Railways, and the Bundesbahn board are said to have given the thumbs-down.

Negotiations with another interested party failed to come up trumps, it is rumoured in the trade, which left the company with no choice but to call in the receiver.

The travel trade is by no means alone in wondering why the Bundesbahn failed to stave off the collapse of Flug-Union with only three weeks to go to the start of the Berlin summer holidays.

It is hardly suprising that a closer look is being taken at Bundesbahn stakes in other travel companies. It holds 50.1 per cent of the share capital of Deutsches Reisebüro, for instance, which in its turn holds an 11.599-per-cent stake in TUI.

The railways also hold a 55-per-cent shareholding in the Bavarian travel agency that holds a further 11.599-per-cent stake in TUI.

Other TUI shareholders include Hapag-Lloyd, the shipping company, and the Springer Group newspapers *Hamburger Abendblatt* and *Die Welt*.

The trade has a sneaking suspicion that the Bundesbahn was deliberately willing to allow Flug-Union to close down because most holidaymakers who had booked with Flug-Union would probably switch to TUI.

In terms of bookings TUI is certainly head and shoulders ahead of the rest for air tours in Berlin. Flug-Ring and NUR are equal second, closely followed by Unger.

Local operators are frankly talking in terms of West German companies going all out to force them out of business, and no-one knows what will happen if they succeed.

H. v. Przychowski

(Der Tagesspiegel, 5 June 1983)

Lufthansa in sight of the cloud with the silver(ish) lining

Lufthansa is doing much better than many other airlines.

Last year the 128 airlines which are members of IATA lost roughly DM4.5bn.

Lufthansa's turnover last year was nearly five per cent up, at DM8.1bn, and although air traffic was DM113.5m in the red the company's performance is improving.

In 1981 operations in this sector ran at a loss that was DM64m higher.

Other company activities netted a profit of DM146m, leaving Lufthansa DM33m in the black on balance. The

Saarbrücker Zeitung

overall surplus at DM45m was nearly DM40m better than the year before.

The overall surplus includes DM21m in profits remitted by subsidiaries of which Condor, the charter operator, accounted for DM9.3m.

Lufthansa ordinary shares and debentures will be paying a five-per-cent dividend for 1982.

Board chairman Heinz Ruhnau admits that good luck was on the airline's side. Fuel prices, for instance, were up only one pfennig to 72 pfennigs per litre, which was substantially below what had been expected.

Fuel consumption was down seven per cent, boosting productivity and further cutting costs per ton-kilometre.

Since Lufthansa carried roughly 400,000 tons of freight and 60,000 tons of mail this made a handsome contribution toward profits.

Lufthansa carried 14 million passengers, or roughly the same as the year before. Herr Ruhnau noted that the proportion of business-class passengers had been maintained at roughly 60 per cent.

On domestic routes 85 per cent of passengers travel business.

Market trends varied widely in 1982. Traffic was up on Far and Middle Eastern routes only (by 14 and 21 per cent respectively).

"Were it not for these high sales," Herr Ruhnau says, "we could not have succeeded in stabilising demand."

The 34,000 members of Lufthansa's staff had also produced quality by virtue of their commitment and their performance. They contributed heavily toward the results.

Yet the airlines plans to dispense with the services of 660 flight engineers. "We are working on the assumption that by 1995 we will be flying only aircraft with two men in the cockpit," the board chairman says.

Improvement

By then 170 will have retired, 235 are to be retrained as pilots and the remaining 250 or so will either be retained as ground staff or paid off, with redundancy money.

That should further cut the cost of flying. Last year the cost increased at a lower rate (4.3 per cent) than earnings (4.8 per cent),

Herr Ruhnau claimed this made a vital contribution toward the airline's fine performance.

This year should be even better.The first quarter was certainly better than in 1982.

The number of passengers was up nearly two per cent to 3.2 million, while air freight was up 4.5 per cent to 104,988 tons.

"If the trend cotinues," he said, "we should reach our target of two per cent more passengers and 5.5 per cent more freight."

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 2 June 1983)

Smaller airports likely to get increased business

erman and European air transport seems to be on the brink of the g-awaited change of course. But reas there has been far too much about change in politics, in civil tion it is a tacit progress.

Smaller German airports, with lower senger figures and fewer internatio l flights, have been first to sense the d of change.

Hanover has been particularly keen promoting inter-regional European traffic and flights between smaller German airports and larger airports in neighbouring countries.

It now looks as though the idea is no longer mere wishful thinking. Hanover has achieved a breakthrtough with flights to Amsterdam.

As part of the political change the new Bonn government indicated that it would be willing to consider allocating the route to a smaller private operator.

Lufthans then stepped in to serve the route, and there are now proposals for a complete secondary network over and above the airline's existing European services.

At present the plans look like being put into practice by Lufthansa before a competitor elbows in.

The new routes will be flown by DLT, in which Lufthansa holds a stake. So the national airline should have developments under control, just as the DLT plans stand a fair chance of success.

Free market economists are rightly upset by the idea that Lufthansa seems to have a hand in everything. But the solution in the pipeline should be an improvement on the existing situation.

The most striking disparities in services between German airports will hopefully be eliminated as soon as possible.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 June 1983)



■ RESEARCH

Tales from the corrosion and explosion department

The Federal Materials Research Establishment in West Berlin publishes a bulky annual report printed on glossy art paper.

Merely to browse through it is to be shocked from time to time by the thought of how many materials near and far can corrode, explode and collapse.

Lovers of technical jargon should find the report absolutely enthralling — if, that is, they happen to know what a computerised giniometer, gas-chromatic motor fuel analysis and tests of the decontaminability of surfaces are (not to mention the shearing stability of polymer additives).

Some of the scenarios outlined in the report are tales of horror.

Yet scientists at the research establishment are not out to create panic; they are level-headed technicians who do their arithmetic.

In a swiftly changing world of technology they constantly have to devise new test procedures and testing devices.

The establishment has a payroll of about 1,200, one in four of whom is either a scientist or engineer. It works for the Economic Affairs Ministry in Bonn.

It runs on a budget of over DM100m, but as its head, Dr G. W. Becker, notes, it is growing increasingly difficult to make ends meet at a time when the emphasis is on economy in public spending.

As a general rule little is heard in public about the Berlin research facility, although it recently made headline news by providing part of the proof that *Stern* magazine's Hitler Diaries were forgeries.

For the experts this particular task was no problem. In a matter of days they were able to show that the cord used in a diary that purported to have been written in 1934 was not available until 1938.

The man-made fibre and optical bleach used in the paper of a diary dated 1941 could not have been available before 1948 at the earliest.

Scientists are still dealing with the collapse of the Berlin Kongresshalle on 21 May 1980. They now know exactly how it happened.

Cork plugs were used to seal gaps in the reinforced concrete. They stored damp and caused the structural steel to corrode.

How is such concealed damage to be spotted in time? Most buildings, the annual report says, are "hostile" to checks.

So the establishment recommends devising procedures by which damage can be identified early.

Corrosion was also found to have been caused by salt spread to clear snow, while it also occurred extensively on flat roofs clad in bitumen sheeting.

This finding solved once and for all a longstanding dispute between the manufacturers of bitumen sheeting and galvanised sheet metal.

Anything that has to do with environmental protection, recycling or energy-saving is growing steadily more important for the Berlin research establishment.

The annual report deals in detail with a new kind of corrosion that has been found to affect reinforced concrete structures.

Motorists who use West Berlin's urban autobahn are suffering from this particular blight, which has made it necessary for the authorities to close several slip roads.

Rust has occurred on the back of the supporting walls where they are in contact with the soil, indicating the presence of hitherto unknown corrosion damage.

The report notes that damage of this kind could affect all reinforced concrete structures that come into contact with the soil.

There may be limits to the tests the establishment is required to carry out but the borderline between tests and materials research is fluid and indistinct.

Technicians are working on materials, especially ceramics, that withstand extremely high temperatures for long periods.

Materials used in heat shields for space craft, for instance, need not be any use for turbines that have to run for a decade. This is a problem that is being looked into in Berlin.

The containers used for intermediate storage of radioactive waste in the Federal Republic of Germany are said to be extremely safe.

The establishment has completed its research work in this sector, providing an answer to one of the most important questions arising in co[...] planning permission for [...] storage facilities in Ahaus [...] ben.

Tests even simulated a [...] an aircraft crashing on the [...] which are made of cast iro[...] ite pellets.

They are suitable for sto[...] nuted material for up to 40 [...] have shown.

Staff have also carried o[...] Gorleben, where radioactiv[...] planned to be stored unde[...] good. Their brief was to check [...] city of the soil to hold back [...] substances.

It was assumed, Dr Be[...] that the salt deposits where [...] were to be stored might be [...] unlikely though that might be.

The drums would the[...] leaving the surface soil as the [...] rier to prevent radioactive s[...] from finding their way into [...] environment of man, flora an[...]

Tests had shown the soil [...] leben area to be highly reten[...] dioactive substances need [...] pected ever to leak into the [...] through it.

Hans Hes[...]
(Frankfurter Allg[...] für Deutschland, [...])

Attempt to get a deal on lead-free petrol

Europe will have lead-free motor fuel by 1990 at the latest if the British and German governments get their way.

At the next session of the Council of Ministers in Brussels, Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann will submit for EEC consideration clean air regulations aimed, like a British bid, at the introduction of lead-free fuel.

It is already mandatory in the United States and Japan and could be soon throughout the European Community.

Britain would like to see lead-free fuel in use by 1987, but France and Italy have said that they will be opposing any such bid for the time being.

Lead-free motor fuel can only be welcomed wholeheartedly from an environmental aspect. The 100 million or so motor vehicles in the Common Market release enormous amounts of lead into the atmosphere.

British public opinion has been alarmed by persistent reports that children who grow up in areas where there is heavy traffic have almost toxic levels of lead in their blood.

Lead has also become a problem for many farmers. Grass alongside busy roads can no longer be used as fodder because its lead count is too high.

In motor fuel lead plays an important part, that of increasing the octane rating and making the engine less likely to pink.

This was an essential prerequisite for high compression, a key feature of modern fuel-miser engines. But environmental qualities are equally important.

Any substantial further reduction in the amount of harmful substances in car exhaust fumes can only be achieved with the aid of catalysts.

The exhaust gases are passed through pipes lined with metallic oxide catalysts that trigger afterburn. But catalysts can only be used with lead-free fuel.

Clean exhausts have their drawbacks. The catalyst costs extra cash and creates extra weight, while lead-free fuel means the compression must be lowered.

As a result performance declines and fuel consumption increases. The oil companies have already announced that lead-free fuel will cost more.

Since all major manufactu[...] cars to the United States th[...] know-how as regards catalys[...] ful.

But what is to be done wi[...] used cars? If lead-free fuel w[...] mandatory virtually all moto[...] would need converting overni[...]

Problems could arise with [...] cles and compact models (a[...] tion conversion costs of [...] DM2,000 per car).

How, for that matter, is on[...] round countries that have ye[...] European Community in [...] lead-free fuel?

The catalyst breaks down [...] converted car is driven usi[...] fuel.

There can be no doubt th[...] exhaust fumes are a must, b[...] cians would do well to realis[...] sel oil has long been availabl[...] vironmentally unimpeachab[...] fuel.

Tax incentives to persuade [...] to switch to diesel engines w[...] option that was neither compl[...] took too long.

It would ease the burden of [...] the environment without incr[...] consumption.

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, [...])

THE THEATRE

Stein's Faust: a desire to go to hell (granted)

[...] huge electric light bulb hangs over [...] the stage in the Cologne theatre. [...] part of the stage-set for the [...]n-language premiere of Gertrude [...] *Doktor Faustus lichterloh* (Doctor Faustus Lights the Lights), written [...]8.

[...]s time, Faust has sold his soul to [...] to obtain electric light.

[...] expresses his infuriation during [...] opening monologue: "Just a few hours and I would have invented [...] white electric light of day myself."

[...]e sentences race past the audience [...]out full stops or commas, which [...]tunately encourages producer [...]ge Tabori and the actor playing [...] Detlef Jacobsen, to perform the [...]ition in too much of a rush.

[...]ch of the audience, which is not [...]liar with Ruediger von Schmeldel's [...]lation, will feel left in the dark.

[...]ertrude Stein, the American poetess [...] theoretician, is not all that well-[...]n in Germany.

[...]e was born in 1874 and moved to [...]s in 1902, where she set up an in-[...]tial "salon". This was a meeting-[...]e for many famous artists, from [...]so to Juan Gris, from Apollinaire [...]hornton Wilder. Here, they received [...] new ideas, advice and encourage-

Stein turned into a kind of modern-day mother-figure. This is most obvious in Ernest Hemingway's case, whose succinct narrative is unthinkable without her support.

Her own works — short dramas, "operas", narratives, a complicatedly constructed auto-biography — still haven't been really discovered.

This is underlined by the fact that it has taken so long for her *Doctor Faustus Lights the Lights* to find its way on to the German stage. After all, its operatic libretto deals with the greatest hero in German literature. This is a play in which the "plot" in only just discernible.

To a certain extent, there is the familiar *Faust* cast: the inventor Faust himself; the comparatively restrained swindling devil, Mephisto, who is helped by a snake ("Herr Natter"); Gretchen, who is bitten by the snake (the link to the paradise myth) and who is called "Margarete Ida and Helena Annabel", an allusion to Goethe's. *Faust II*.

A few other characters — a "lad", a dog, a man from the sea, a boy and a girl — contrast this version from the original, *Faustus* and introduce more basic elements. It provides the opportunity for choral and ballet parts.

More than this, it enables a structuring repetition of events, words and sentences. For the organisation of language and its particles is a, if not the objective of Stein's art. In his book *Die neuen Wirklichkeiten* (The New Realities), Günter Blöcker explains: "Indeed, Gertrude Stein's relationship to words is more material than aesthetic. Her intention was not to conjure up associations, but to allow the words to speak for themselves... Gertrude Stein was in love with vocabulary, sounds, sentences, constructions, childish rhymes which could interweave with her prose..."

Producer Tabori goes even further still in his programme: "Stein denies us the convenience of explanation, an age-old custom in traditional drama, and presents the audience with a disquieting invitation: to feel free to choose the interpretation". Tabori himself decides to interpret freely. What at first appears to be a narrative (or to be more precise, text to an opera and thus a lyrical work) is then subjected to the influence of unbridled theatre.

The wave-like movement varies between a brooding silence and temperamental vivacity.

There is a stronger link than in

Continued on page 12

Allowing words to speak for themselves ... Gertrude Stein's *Doctor Faustus Lights the Lights.* (Photo: Stefan Odry)

Opera tailored to atmosphere of a rococo playhouse

[...]is year's Schwetzingen Festival [...]egan with a successful revival of [...]art's opera *Mitridate* by the Harnoncourt/Ponnelle ensemble (Zurich). [...] finished on an equally successful [...] with a premiere performance of [...] Werner Henze's latest opera *Die [...]sche Katze* (The English Cat).

[...]e rococo theatre in Schwetzingen [...] already been the scene of a premiere performance of one of Henze's operas back in 1961, the much-performed [...]e für junge Liebende (Elegy for [...]g Lovers).

[...]ve years ago, Henze, born in Gütersloh in 1926 and now living in Italy, [...] commissioned by the Schwetzingen [...]ival organisers and the Württemberg State Theatre to compose a new [...]

[...]e again, his opera was tailored to [...] intimate atmosphere of the attractive Schwetzingen playhouse.

[...]ose who had time to read the cor[...]onding background stories were rarely so well-informed about the run-up to a work of musical drama.

Only recently, the S. Fischer Verlag published *Die Englische Katze, ein Arbeitstagebuch 1978—1982* (The English Cat, a Working Diary 1978—1982), in which the author/composer Henze records the general observations, reflections and aphorisms made during the preparation and production of his operatic work.

This workshop report will remain a significant document long after the play itself is no longer performed.

The libretto to this "story for singers and musicians" is based on an epistolary novel by Balzac, *Peines de coeur d'une chatte anglaise*, the illustrations for which were drawn by the social critic and artist Eugène de Grandville.

Henze saw the Balzac novel performed by an Argentinian theatre group in Paris in 1977. During this performance he felt a desire to "write a sinister and oblique musical score to suit the sinister and oblique story".

He then asked the English dramatist Edward Bond to write the libretto. Bond transposed the story from the French *directoire* to Victorian London in 1900.

It is a fabulous parable which is played in the world of animals.

The scenes of love, marriage, intrigue and murder played by the cats on stage represent a caustic social satire, the actors in their animal masks suffer and experience the fate of human beings.

The Society for the Protection of Rats, founded by the cats symbolises capitalist society.

As the composer points out: "after all, the whole opera deals with money."

The plot's comic element is constantly questioned. And yet, the moral of the lengthy (over three hours) story, that the best are slain, is pretty weak.

Musically, on the other hand, *Die Englische Katze* has a great deal to offer.

The opera's composition was inspired by the Italian Opera Buffa from the early 17th century, Mozart, Rossini, Sullivan (the English Lortzing) of Gilbert and Sullivan fame, and Stravinsky.

The variation technique used by Henze takes its bearings from a major work of this genre, Beethoven's Diabelli variations.

The main actors and the various social groups are assigned typical motifs and instruments; the sound of which helps the audience understand the course of events more easily.

Henze himself on this point: "The music shows bias, it shows who is liked and who is disliked."

The score leaves no doubt here. For example during the marvellous arioso between Minette and her lover Tom or in the shrill, aggressive sounds for the despised Cat Society for the Protection of Rats, where the forced cacophony often sounds like proper caterwauling.

Henze's music seems to be at its most impressive and powerful where its intention is a naturally flowing melody.

The composer is able to extract flattering and hard sounds, wit and drama, and lyrical sensitivity from the limited orchestra of colours.

This proves his compositional perfection and his successful musical characterisation.

The performance by the orchestra of the Württemberg State Theatre Stuttgart, conducted by the masterly and lively Dennis Russel Davies also deserves praise.

The costumes were designed to fit the milieu and period and added authenticity to the production.

The composer should consider cutting out some of the rather long-winded second part in the interests of a better audience understanding of his work.

Inga Nielsen and Elisabeth Glauser put on a convincing performance as the two cats Minette and Bubette.

Inga Nielsen had to master both bewitchingly soft lyrics and coloraturas. Martin Finke was a good Lord Puff.

Roland Bracht — a regular guest in Saarbrücken — successfully took on the role of Arnold and Wolfgang Schöne was a loving and lovable Tom.

Albert-Peter Bitz
(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 4 June 1983)



[...]fabulous parable' ... Henze's *Die Englische Katze.* (Photo: Joachim Schmidtmann)

■ LITERATURE

Veteran writer's death closes a chapter

Anna Seghers, who has died in East Berlin, was as old as the century and would have been 83 on 17 November.

Her death marks the end of a chapter in the history of socialist German writing and of German literature as a whole.

She was the last of the great writers of middle-class origin who joined forces with a working class that itself now no longer exists.

Her parents in Mainz were middle-class Jews and she grew up in a home where the bourgeois traditions of the arts were staunchly upheld.

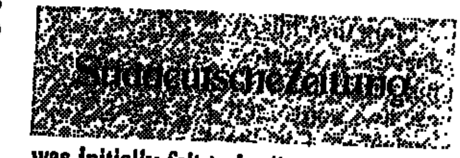
Schiller was one of the writers she particularly appreciated as a girl. He was soon joined by Dostoyevsky, whose influence is apparent in so many ways in her early work.

She read art history and Sinology at university and borrowed her nom-de-plume (her real name was Netty Reiling) from Hercules Seghers, a contemporary of Rembrandt's.

The first work she had published as Anna Seghers was already written in a style that was unmistakably her own.

1928 was the year in which she both joined the Communist Party and made a name for herself as a writer with her short novel *Aufstand der Fischer von St. Barbara* (Uprising of the Fishermen of St Barbara).

It was written in a laconic style that



was initially felt to be "manly." It won her the Kleist Prize, one of the most prestigious literary awards in the Weimar Republic.

She played an active part in the work of the Proletarian-Revolutionary Writers' League as a member of which she made the acquaintance of Georg Lukacs, whose exact opposite she was to become 10 years later, in exile.

She went into exile as soon as the Nazis came to power. Her novel *Kopflohn* (Head-Money) was one of the first literary reactions to German Fascism.

It tells an impressive and forceful tale of farm life before and imediately after 1933.

In 1934 she was in Austria to study the background of the February uprising. But France, especially Paris, came to mean home for her in exile.

She spent her time sitting writing at café tables in the French capital. Her output included *Die Rettung* (The Rescue), 1937, a novel that testified to the solidarity that was a hallmark of the working-class movement until its destruction.

At congresses held to defend the arts in the 1930s she spoke up in national patriotism for German culture, which faced destruction at the hands of the Third Reich.

Her novel *Das siebte Kreuz* (The Seventh Cross) was arguably the supreme expression of her "love of the Fatherland" (the title of her speech at the 1935 congress in defence of the arts).

In both literary and political terms it was the most important German novel to be written in exile during the Nazi era.

It tells the tale of seven prisoners who escape from a Nazi concentration camp. One is not caught, being finally smuggled out of the country.

It is a tale of hope: hope that Fascism's powers of self-destruction would prove its undoing.

It is an extraordinary tale of the ordinary lives of ordinary people. Everyday life plays a leading part in rescuing the hero, Georg Heisler.

He succeeds in escaping from Germany because a number of different people feel called on to do something to ensure he gets away. They do so without cross-reference, as it were.

Franz Marnet, Heisler's friend, expresses the specific utopia that is included in the novel as follows:

"After it is all over I would still like to be where I am now, but differently. In the same firm, but a different person. To work here for us ... and it must all be here."

In the prologue she paints a forceful picture of the Rhenish countryside to which she lays claim despite the homeland mythology of Fascism.

Das siebte Kreuz depicted resistance to the Nazis. It was not a one-sided resistance and was shown in social depth.

The film version, directed by Fred Zinnemann and starring Spencer Tracy, may well have made a lasting mark on the view of Germany held in the United States during the Second World War.

Transit, 1944, was a more personal account of life in exile. It tells the tale of a German worker holed up in Marseilles waiting for a US visa. He eventually stays behind.

In a sense it is the tale of Anna Seghers herself, who only just managed, with her husband and children, to escape the Vichy police.

But late in life she claimed never to have undergone crises, and she was indeed an optimist who survived more than the years of exile in which she emerged as a leading voice from Mexico.

In exile she was busy drawing up plans for a post-war Germany to which she planned to return as soon as she could.

She returned to the Soviet Zone and served the new German state in the making there. She was head of what was to become the GDR Writers' Association from 1952 to 1978.

So she was in her late 70s before she retired from a job she took ... and her post-war writing show... damental confidence in the ... of historical change.

Parisian cafe tables ... workbench ... Anna Seghers (Photo: Lud...)

But she failed to equal the ... she set in exile, and the Cold ... partly to blame for her la... especially *Die Entscheidung* (... sion) and *Das Vertrauen* (Co... being politically and aesthet... credited in the West.

Given real life and historic... in the GDR it was hard to ... them in the Federal Republic ... ny as chronicles of the new ... state she wanted and hoped ... the New Man it was expected ... duce.

Later, in the 1970s, she ... material that called to mind ... work.

Stories such as *Das wirkl... Überfahrt* and *Sonderbare B...gen* were impressive highlights ... writing of which none of the ... GDR authors would have been ...

In terms of arts policy they ... an emancipation from the dog... cialist realism and opened up ... the leeway in which, for instance ... work of Heiner Müller was able ... shape.

Klau...

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, ...)

Grass elected chairman of arts academy

Writer Günter Grass has been elected president of the Academy of Arts in West Berlin. He takes over from architect Werner Düttmann, who held the post for nearly 12 years until he died last January.

It is a three-year term. There were several candidates, but Grass is said to have commanded majority support at the first ballot of the 80 members present.

The academy has over 200 members, of whom some live outside Berlin. Grass, 55, has for years lived in Berlin and north Germany.

His new vice-president is Berlin sculptor Rolf Szymanski, 54, who was previously head of the academy's fine arts section.

His old job has been taken over by Eberhard Roters, director of the Berlinische Galerie.

dpa

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 6 June 1983)

Road to hell

Continued from page 11

Stein's original play to the story of the Creation.

The tree of knowledge of good and evil towers over the playing area between the audience, surrounded by significant forbidden fruit (apples).

Kazuko Watanabe designed the stage-set and the costumes, which range from modern-day to the American pioneer period.

A great deal appears to be highly subjective addition. The humming choir, for example, which creates a mystic atmosphere before the play begins, or the "ballet" scene, where the actors writhe on their seats after Natter bites Margarete.

Sometimes, Tabori introduces his very personal themes, smothering the original text. One example is when the actors consider how to eliminate the "lad" and the dog, thinking up the most horrific torture phantasies.

On the whole, however, Tabori and the actors themselves (Jacobsen as Faust, Klaus Fischer as Mephisto, Silvia Fenz as Margarete, Ursula Höpfner as Natter, Sandra Markus as th... Karl Lauber as the dog, Georg Bode, Klaus Redlin, Renate F... put on an exciting and captiv... formance.

Their collective acting, often ... established its own harmonious ...

Theatre between ritual and ... tation, between intellectual ... sensuality, transposing Stein's ... lism into vivid images.

Stanley Walden, the man ... piano, composed his own jazzy ... for the performance.

Although his sound patterns ... lodies, inspired by Charles ... Jimmy Giuffre and even Benjamin ... ten, helped the actor, there ... whether it helped bring out the ... self more clearly. Maybe there ... too much singing.

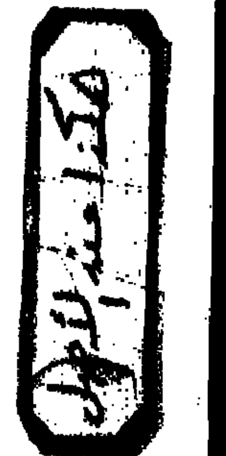
Admittedly, there is an unmis... longing by Faust at the end of ... to go to Hell.

The fact that he is not saved ... trinsic part of Faust's character.

This production in Cologne ... the wide spectrum of possib... this kind of theatre. It was rewar... plenty of applause at the end.

Rainer Ha...

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, ...)



EDUCATION

Dropping birthrate drives secondary schools to bid for pupils

...s difficult not to write a satire on ... German school system. One joke ... the headmasters of our highly-re...ed *Gymnasien* (high schools) are ... to the streets with a lasso to ... a few more pupils.

...re is a growing suspicion that ... are not that important any more ...*mnasien*. All that matters is that ...ool has pupils.

...nts interested in sending their ...n to a *Gymnasium* (as opposed ... *Gesamtschule* or comprehensive) ... worriedly informed by the headmas... that they will have to wait and see ...ther enough children turn up for ... first-year class.

...ate Education Ministries repeatedly ... schools against resorting to inad...ible advertising practices.

...e whole problem is the result of ... dramatic slump in birth rates ever ... the end of the sixties.

...e recruitment ratio, or as statisti... tactfully put it, the family "repro...tion ratio", has dropped by almost ...

...his development has led to a situa... which could not be more paradoxi...

...hereas the colleges and universities ... still moaning and groaning about ... growing surge of students and are ...ing it increasingly difficult to fulfil ... educational and training tasks set ... without reducing standards in research and teaching, our education system is drying up at grass roots.

Politicians and pressure groups are faced by almost insoluble problems.

Can educational policies simultaneously overcome the problem of overcrowding (in colleges/universities) and shrinkage (in elementary schools)?

Public discussion on education still centres on the labour market problems presented by the fact that the generation born in years in which there were high birth rates is now looking for work.

The concern about a possible surplus of academics must be relaced by an appreciation of the new problems at the very basis of the educational system.

Too many politicians seek refuge in the popular practice of looking for ideological scapegoats to take the blame for the malaise instead of concentrating on the problems at hand.

It is all too obvious tht many find it difficult to accept the fact that the reason for this problem does not lie in misdirected educational policies but in a fateful demographic watershed.

The abrupt change of scenario, however, does cast an informative light on our educational system.

It shows how ill-suited its three-tier system is to cope with the changes required.

The growing competition between the individual schools (and types of schools) together with the parents' desire to obtain the best possible education for their children may mean that secondary modern schools drop out of the running.

At the same time, efforts by philologists to maintain the achievement-oriented and exclusive character of the *Gymnasien* will be undermined by the increased competition.

The basic law of supply and demand threatens to make irrelevant all the profound debates on the meaning and significance of *Gymnasium* education.

In our qualification-mindedness, its role is reduced to that of an educational institution which provides the most valuable and worthwhile qualification going.

Even up to now, parents have done everything to make sure their children have to opportunity to enjoy the fruits of this system, regardless of any talent or achievement-based reservations.

Attempts by *Gymnasien* to oppose such trends have not been all that successful.

Now that *Gymnasien* have to worry about their very existence and ability to function, their interest in erecting more difficult entrance barriers is likely to wane.

As long as the number of secretaries and assistants depends on the number of pupils, as long as the reformed secondary stage of education needs enough pupils to maintain its system of grouping pupils into special courses, *Gymnasien* will do their utmost to attract as many children as possible.

The loud complaints by the various education ministries about the relaxed attitude some *Gymnasien* have towards achievement will do nothing to change this.

Society's qualification-mindedness is now relentlessly demanding its price.

The struggle between the school to get their fair share of children has already begun. The prospects for secondary modern schools *(Hauptschule)* aren't too good.

All the set phrases about the alleged equal value of secondary modern education and all the tricks used by politicians in recent years to enhance the status of this school category are worthless in the face of competition to get the best qualifications.

The secondary modern school, for example in Bavaria, doesn't even provide the children with their first public examination (at the age of 15 or 16).

Here, there are only nine years of education, whereas ten years are necessary before the first examination can be taken.

It is not hard to imagine how parents will react in future if they receive a friendly letter from a *Gymnasium* headmaster asking them to consider sending their child to his school.

Is there any way of preventing the secondary modern schools from disintegrating into schools for "the rest," for those who didn't manage to get a place in a *Gymnasium* or who decided for social reasons not to take part in the competition for the best qualifications?

There is a growing conflict between

Continued on page 14

■ MEDICINE

Slipped discs put German spines out of joint

One in three of all West Germans between the ages of 40 and 70 has a slipped disc, say doctors.

The disorder is in no way a "fashionable complaint": There has always been a high percentage of middle-aged men and women complaining about backache.

In most cases, however, the pains were thought to be rheumatic, and treated accordingly.

Towards the end of the last century progress made in X-ray technology showed that the backaches were due to excessive strain on the intervertebral discs.

Each disc consists of a jelly-like core (nucleus pulposus), enclosed by dense fibrous tissue, which is firmly attached to the bodies of the vertebrae.

They act as shock-absorbers and prevent the individual vertebrae from rubbing against one another during movement of the upper part of the body.

The nucleus pulposus has to stand considerable pressure and tension. Unfortunately, it is not suited for permanent strain as it belongs to the poorly nourished tissues, as do the other joint cartilages and tendons.

Metabolism takes a very long time in the case of the intervertebral discs; this means that signs of strain can occur after quite a short period.

The usual cause is a faulty posture and incorrect lifting or carrying of heavy weights.

A human being's "natural" posture is standing and walking upright. In this position the pressure on the intervertebral discs is about 50 kilograms.

If during work the arms are stretched out, this weight increases by about 25 kilograms.

If the backbone is flexed there is a dynamic strain on the shell of the discs, a strain which is intensified if the person lifts heavy objects.

Persons whose work regularly involves bending forward or carrying heavy weights exert excessive pressure on the jelly-like substance between the vertebrae.

Over the years, the disc is then worn down so much that the slightest movement rubs the vertebrae of the backbone against one another. This leads to backache.

Since the regenerative capacity of the nucleus pulposus is limited, the patient has to avoid excessive strain of the discs over a longer period. Appropriate nourishment is also necessary to strengthen the regenerative capacity.

In all cases, prevention is definitely better than cure. For this reason, many places of work have been structured so as to make sure that the back is kept as straight as possible.

According to industrial medicine stipulations, weights should only be lifted with a "flat back".

Housewives should also take care to that their backs are straight and that they squat to pick up things, tensing their stomach and back muscles at the same time.

This guarantees and even spread of the strain on the discs during lifting and carrying, preventing the wearing down of the sides of the disc.

Persons sitting down or driving a car should also make sure that the lumbar spinal column is supported.

The acquisition of modern office and kitchen chairs serves to protect the intervertebral discs.

Even while seated, an incorrect posture can wear down the discs.

When driving a car attention should be paid to supporting the back with an appropriate backrest.

(Rheinische Post, 2 June 1983)

Continued from page 13

the traditional way *Gymnasien* have viewed their own function in society and the competition-oriented approach to obtaining qualifications upon which the whole system of employment and the civil service is based.

Recently, experts spoke of an *Abiturienten* (school-leavers with university entrance qualification) ratio of between 30 and 40 per cdent of any one school year. These estimates could quite easily be too low.

Educational policies find themselves *facing a dilemma and helpless in their belief that there is still such a thing as a* "*normal distribution*" of the number of pupils among the various types of school according to the individual talents the children may have.

The only way to prevent the dangers of cut-throat competition from completely ruining the concepts of education ministers is by re-thinking these concepts altogether. Otherwise, the official schools policies will become living lies.

The assertion of the "equal value" of the various types of schools is of no use unless the parents can be persuaded that this equality in fact exists.

However, this requires that society bring into accord the noble principle of equality in education and the equality of opportunities actually available following such education.

Malte Buschbeck
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28 May 1983)

More deaf than you' ever heard

Fewer than half of 141,5 who took part in a hearing ducted by the German Gr passed without difficulty.

This "alarming result" was evidence for the fact that there people who can't hear prop many believe, said a spokesm

According to a report by th bach Opinion Research Insti four million people are hard of but only one million have a he

According to the experts, e gnition, treatment and care of is important.

The problems are not reco the case of 14 to 20 per cent of and girls who have hearing diff

There are often learning p and a delay in the develop speech.

In an effort to prevent dama cannot be reversed, medical c should already begin during three years.

In this respect, the Green Cr nisation presented a cost-bene sis. A proper early recognition me would cost about DM17m investment would ultimately social and medical insurance nies about DM47m.

(Mannheimer Morge

A certain cure for ulcers still wanted

Ulcers are the direct cause of death in about 11 per cent of ulcer sufferers, a medical meeting has been told.

Frankfurt expert Dr Günter Lambrecht was quoting a recent survey in a speech to a congress organised by the German pharmacists' association in Merano, northern Italy.

The meeting heard that there is still much to do in the field of gastric and duodenal ulcers despite much progress.

Between 10 and 20 per cent of the whole population suffered from a peptic ulcer at least once. There are about 150,000 new cases year in the Federal Republic.

There is general agreement that a gastric ulcer or a duodenal ulcer results from a disturbance in the balance between aggressive and defensive factors.

The following are aggressive factors: gastric acid, bile acids and the protein splitting pepsin contained in the gastric juices.

A defensive factor is the natural resistance of the mucous membrane.

The medicinal treatment of the ulcer attempts to re-restablish a state of equilibrium, avoid complications and prevent relapses.

A group of drugs has now been successful in reducing or eliminating the aggressive factors and improving the protection of the mucous membrane against these factors.

However, the resistance of gastric mucous membrane itself can only be helped to a limited extent by using medicine due to the risk of side effects.

Gastric and duodenal ulcers take between 10 and 15 years to develop. The illness follows a phase-like pattern and in many cases therapy in any one of these phases can lead to speedy relief and accelerated curing of th for a high percentage of patien

This presumes, of course, th cers are relatively uncomplica

Only rarely does therapy ha interrupted because of serious fects.

Nevertheless, as Lambrech out, treatment still presents a d to the therapeutist, as man patients have at least one relaps

In Germany, peptic ulcers themselves after about four we average of 50 per cent of cases.

The progress in the field of treatment with medicines are in the fact that the rate of rela ing long-term therapy has from the original range of 40 cent to between 15 and 20 per ce

As soon as therapy is disco there is a relapse.

Lambrecht: "At the moment no ulcer medicine in a position cure the illness."

(Lubecker Nachrichten, 2

When a stroke or heart attack puts a family in a plight

An organisation has been set up to help families in which a heart attack or stroke case has caused need.

The first person to receive money was a Berlin housewife and mother. She has three sick children aged 15, 16 and 17, all in wheelchairs and completely helpless.

Last year she suffered a heart attack and the support fund has handed her over a cheque for DM5,000.

The organisation, whose aim is to "fight circulatory disturbance", will be conducting a widespread information campaign this year on the causes. and implications of such disturbances.

The organisation patroness, Hanna-Renate Laurien (CDU), Berlin's Senator for the Schools, urgently warned against the risks of smoking, lack of exercise, stress, overweight, high blood pressure and diabetes.

About 350,000 people die of a heart attack or a stroke each year in the Federal Republic of Germany. This is caused by an infarction (suffocation) of the artery.

One in every two Germans has circulatory problems.

Professor Dirk Loose, chairman of the German Infarct Aid Organisation and expert on circulation complaints emphasised: "The most alarming thing is that the victims of a heart attack are younger each year."

The death rate for victims of coronary thrombosis is twice as high as that for cancer victims (145,000 a year).

The organisation sees its most important task to be the appeal to all citizens to show their own initiative in this field. In all too many cases, the illness is only taken seriously when everything is too late and the damage done is irreparable.

The organisation, which has among its members former Bonn President Walter Scheel, ex-national soccer player Fritz Walter, and the Lord Mayor of Mainz, Jockel Fuchs, offers all citizens a free precautionary check-list containing 53 questions.

This helps the general practi get a better idea of where the may lie.

Chairman Loose is hoping th research projects, to be started and backed by donations fr members themselves and by will also be successful.

In one case, the success of drugs is to be tested in the supp about 1,000 German doctors.

The organisation is also pla introduce an "anti-smoking gum" which, in line with the model, will only be available o ription.

It will then present an altern the controversial preparation sold at the moment.

F. Dide
(Die Welt, 1

SPORT

Magath boots Hamburg to German, European titles

Felix Magath is a quiet person in the noisy business of association foot- He feels uneasy when the fans are ant.

nd jubilant they are right now. Ma-, Hamburg SV's captain, scored the to give his side a 1-0 win over Ju-us of Turin in the final of the Euro- club championship in Athens.

then returned home and saw the through to its second *Bundesliga* mplonship in a row. They took the on goal average on the last day of season.

agath's goal against Juventus was a arder with his left foot. Most peo- hought the Italian side would win.

t even in triumph Magath is not a to forget moments of disappoint- t and humiliation. Sensitive him- he has always been careful not to vercritical of others.

The game gave me great satisfac-," he nonetheless said after an ens performance that earned him opean acclaim. "It compensated me much of what I had been through the past few months."

is pleasure, while being restrained, ded a note of *Schadenfreude*, or sure at the discomfiture of others, was unusual coming from him.

veryone knew who he meant. Ma- has never felt fairly treated by na-*al team* manager Jupp Derwall. ped 26 times for Germany, Magath never been allotted more than a r role by Derwall.

ith Hamburg he masterminds the 's entire game, whereas Derwall him out on the left wing where he 't like it. As a result, he never real- celled.

helped to get Germany through to World Cup in Spain last summer, during the tournament itself he was replaced in the game against Austria and saw the final only as a spectator.

Life at the top . . . Felix Magath. (Photo: Nordbild)

This hit him harder than he may have been prepared to admit to himself. But he was nothing if not consistent; in September he announced his retirement from the national squad.

In February this year he was tempted to make a comeback when Derwall, who has been criticised with increasing harshness with each successive defeat since Spain, grew friendlier.

Derwall even paid Hamburg a special visit to persuade Magath to change his mind, but Magath finally decided once and for all against Derwall and against playing for his country.

"I really can't understand Felix at all," the disappointed Derwall said, showing only that he had misunderstood Magath personally and not just as a player.

"With Felix," SV Hamburg manager Ernst Happel says, "the entire environment has to be just right." He appreciates how sensitive Magath is.

Then, but only then, he can be the best mastermind a team could want on the field. A manager, Happel says, needs to give him the feeling that the game will depend on him and him alone. Otherwise Magath seems to be plagued by self-doubt.

He comes from Aschaffenburg. His father was a GI. He has never been able to use his elbows in the game. He has always been vulnerable and subject to variations in performance.

Ernst Kreuz is a former HSV player who is 17 years older than Magath. He used to live next door to the Magaths in Aschaffenburg and remembers how Felix used to spend five or six hours a day on the soccer pitch.

"He was a small kid but extremely smart," Kreuz recalls. "But he could also be extremely sad." Magath played for a local club, then for Saarbrücken before signing for Hamburg in 1976.

Captaining the club to victory in the European Cup must surely be a climax in his career. Where does he go from here?

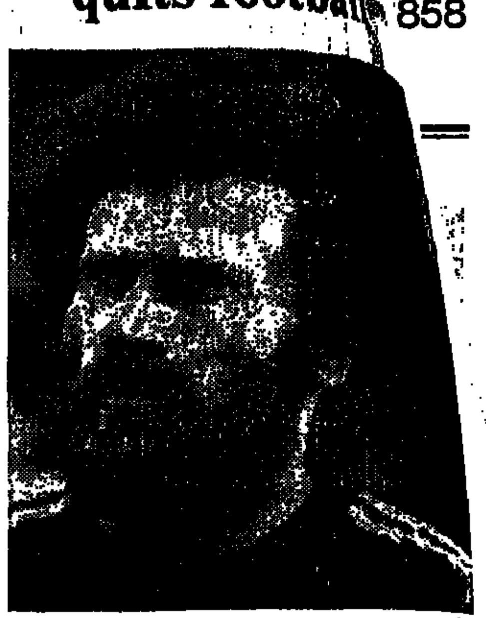
He answers the question at his home in Quickborn, outside Hamburg, with his wife Stefanie and daughters Janine-Marie-Louise Mirja, 3, and Marie-Therese, 14 months.

"My contract with Hamburg has a year to go," he says. "I will then be 31 and will call it a day in Bundesliga soccer."

He plans to end his football career abroad. He had intended to play in the United States, but he is no longer so sure.

Norbert Scheld
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 28 May 1983)

Breitner, hero, antihero, quits football



'I don't want to be a model for people' . . . Paul Breitner. (Photo: Nordbild)

An ideal is a model of perfection. An idol is a false ideal. Which is the better description of Paul Breitner, 31, who has just retired from *Bundesliga* soccer?

Breitner of Bayern Munich was the modern soccer pro par excellence. He played football to earn money, not to serve as a model for the folks back home.

Leading sportsmen have often claimed to serve as models for children and young people. Not Breitner. "I Don't Want to be a Model" is the title of one of *his books*.

Breitner was not a popular hero in the sense that Uwe Seeler of Hamburg was. He more than anyone was the player who began a new era in pro football in the mid-1970s.

He led, others followed. It was an era in which players admitted to being in the game for what they could get out of it — even when they won the accolade of being capped for their country.

The more they took, the more distant they grew from those who gave. They allowed themselves to be cheered (or booed) on the park, but no longer wanted anything to do with the fans who cheered them.

Fritz Walter, who captained his country to World Cup victory in Berne in 1954 for a mere DM2,000, would celebrate a victory in the club bar alongside the fans, just like any other soccer player in his day.

Twenty years later Franz Beckenbauer, who repeated the feat in Munich, earning DM60,000, changed straight into a dinner jacket after one World Cup game and drove to Bayreuth for a Wagner festival opera performance.

The money he earned from football enabled him to gain access to a better class of people: high society where the ordinary fan could not hope even to get a look-in.

The fans only accepted soccer stars' lives of luxury as long as they could afford to finance them. They no longer can.

The stands and terraces are bare and ideals (or idols) such as Paul Breitner are felt to have feet of clay.

The soccer pro is going to have to change, to find his way back to the fans. Otherwise the stuffing will be knocked out of the professional game.

Horst Walter
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 30 May 1983)

The Bundesliga after its first 20 years

e 20th season of *Bundesliga*, or national league, soccer has ended. an occasion to stop and think ra- than be euphoric.

always when something special mes everyday proportions, *Bundes*- soccer has forfeited some of its in- fascination. But it is still alive and ing.

all began on 24 August 1963, since over 130 million fans have lined stands and terraces to cheer stars as Beckenbauer, Netzer and Ove-

hey were crazy about Uwe Seeler, y hailed other goal-scorers such as ler, Fischer, Heynckes and Hru- h.

hey worshipped Petar Radenkovic Sepp Maier and waddling "Ente" ens as players who took their work usly yet retained a sense of hu- r.

hey were amazed by dribbling aces Libuda, Littbarski and Rummenig- who made it from kit carrier to in- ational soccer star.

he term "star" testifies to parallels show business. The weekend's soc- may be managed by amateurs but at top level has long formed part of entertainment business.

Fifteen per cent is sport," Breitner , "and the rest is show." That was ainly his idea of soccer, and he made constant headlines in his chosen role as the bad guy.

But this outlook was soon apparent in the national squad and made its most abysmal mark in the lacklustre 1982 World Cup game in which Germany beat Austria 1-0.

Football was suddenly a mere matter of arithmetic. The fans merely financed a small group of privileged players who had lost contact with the crowd and all sense of reality.

They threatened to saw off the branch on which they sat (and continue to sit). Gone are the days when soccer stars were something special.

The number of spectators was down again in the 1982/83 season, so there is no call for complacency.

Reducing the number of clubs in the first division may or may not be a good idea. The same is true of proposals to convert clubs into limited companies.

But all concerned could well do with common sense. There are problems galore, beginning on the pitch and culminating in accumulated debts totalling DM44m.

Twenty years ago the average Bundesliga player grossed DM20,000 per season. Nowadays he earns roughly 10 times as much.

In 1980 Manfred Kaltz negotiated a contract with SV Hamburg that earned him a basic salary of DM600,000.

But poor or rich, the books can only be balanced by means of extra earnings from advertising on shirts, from TV and from special fixtures.

The season that has just ended emphasised the danger that lurks ahead. Never before has a sponsor wielded such an influence on a change of team manager as at Bayern Munich.

Doubtful business practises by players' managers and investment advisers show that commercialisation has been accompanied by an increase in non-sporting influences.

Optimists may fairly claim that soccer still wields its spell. SV Hamburg may have scraped home as league champions but Werder Bremen, the runners-up, have done the Bundesliga a good turn.

They are an interesting team and have been prepared to run a risk and play a hard game of football. That is what the fans want to see.

dpa
(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 2 June 1983)